



Daily Report

Latin America

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Tuesday
31 May 1988

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Reportage on Nonaligned Disarmament Meeting

SRV Foreign Minister Arrives

FL2505152688 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network
in Spanish 1100 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Nguyen Co Thach, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers and foreign minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, is visiting our country to attend the Nonaligned Movement meeting which will be held in Havana.

He was been welcomed by Levi Farah, minister of the construction materials industry; Giraldo Mazola, vice foreign minister; Do Van Tai, Vietnamese ambassador to Cuba; and other officials from the Vietnamese chancellery and the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Holds Talks With Risquet

FL2605015288 Havana Television Service
in Spanish 0000 GMT 26 May 88

[Text] Jorge Risquet, member of the PCC Politburo and Secretariat, has received Comrade Nguyen Co Thach at Central Committee headquarters. Nguyen Co Thach is a member of the [Communist Party of Vietnam] Politburo and foreign minister of the SRV. During their fraternal and friendly talks, the two leaders exchanged views on the positive course of our bilateral ties. They also discussed the international situation, especially the process underway to find a negotiated solution to the conflicts in southern Africa and Cambodia.

Comrade Nguyen Co Thach arrived in our country on Tuesday to take part in the nonaligned ministerial meeting which will begin on 26 May.

Malmierca on Meeting

FL2705212688 Havana Television Cubana Network in Spanish 0030 GMT 27 May 88

["Optica Internacional" weekly program, with Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca, Foreign Ministry "officials" Magda Bauta and Eumelio Caballero, and Moderator Irma Caceres, in studio—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Caceres] Hello, friends. Once more this week we have a topic of international interest and a topic that touches us very closely—peace and disarmament, which in a way is the struggle for life itself. A meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Nonaligned Movement is being held at the Palace of Conventions at this time. [passage omitted] We are going to talk with our guests about this meeting, its importance and timing. Let's listen to Malmierca's views.

[Malmierca] We are very grateful for the opportunity to inform our people of the conditions in which this ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau on disarmament is taking place. We believe that the time in which our meeting takes place is especially important. We all

hope that the world can consolidate a new era in which the possibilities of peace and the policy of negotiation can replace the times which up to now we have had to suffer and deal with, in which confrontation, aggression, or the threat of attack has prevailed.

We believe that the agreements reached between the Soviet Union and the United States on the elimination of short- and medium-range nuclear missiles—the agreements signed in Washington—open the prospects for the world to begin a new era in which the possibilities of disarmament may grow. These agreements are very important in themselves. But, above all, we believe that its greater significance will lie in our ensuring that they are the first step of the process of a new era. This is why this meeting has been called, so that the Nonaligned Movement, which groups more than 100 states of the Third World, may participate in this process even more actively than hitherto in the defense of peace and life and, with its weight, make those hopes a reality.

[Caceres] In fact, the Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting will also be taking place in Moscow this weekend.

[Malmierca] Yes, General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan will meet for the fourth time. We were saying that our meeting could not assess that meeting because we are practically going to meet at the same time. However, we believe the very fact that more than 40 foreign ministers and representatives of more than 100 countries are attending the Havana meeting is clear evidence of the will for peace, the will to struggle for life and development, because we cannot separate, we cannot differentiate, between these two elements. Commander in Chief Fidel Castro has noted very clearly that the atomic bomb went off once in Hiroshima and 120,000 people died in a day. But in the Third World more than 40,000 children under the age of 5 die of hunger or treatable diseases every day. That is, every 3 days an atomic bomb of hunger and underdevelopment explodes in the Third World. This is why the struggle for peace, the struggle for life, the effort to achieve disarmament measures has to be associated with, has to be linked to, the need for the resources freed through disarmament measures to be used for [words indistinct] development.

[Caceres] Eumelio, you were telling us how the meeting was organized. [passage omitted]

[Caballero] [Passage omitted] Cuba's initiative to hold the meeting was unanimously supported, without any kind of difficulty. This confirms what the foreign minister has just said: the importance that the Nonaligned Movement and the international community as a whole attach to the struggle for peace and disarmament at this juncture. [passage omitted]

[Caceres] [Passage omitted] Magda, why don't you talk about the topics and documents?

[Bauta] As Eumelio was saying, and following the movement's tradition, it is up to the host country to prepare the draft documents that the participants will discuss. The ministers are considering a series of documents right now that Cuba has prepared for this occasion. There are three documents.

There is draft final communique which is accompanied by an action plan that contains the whole gamut of issues involved in the question of disarmament. They are the most pressing issues. Nuclear disarmament, of course, is given special emphasis [words indistinct]. This is followed by the nonmilitarization of space, chemical weapons, and disarmament and development. The draft final communique also acknowledges the USSR-U.S. agreements. This draft is accompanied by an action plan that summarizes the most urgent measures to be taken. It identifies the areas of concentration.

Cuba has drafted an appeal which is under consideration. In contrast with other appeals the movement has issued on disarmament, this one is not addressed to the chiefs of state of the United States and the Soviet Union. [passage omitted] Cuba has proposed a draft appeal to the ministerial meeting with a somewhat different philosophy. It is based on the fact that because of the destructive capacity of nuclear arms, whose consequences would not only affect the belligerent parties in a nuclear conflict but also non-belligerents, civilians, other nations not involved in the conflict, the disarmament process is of interest to all nations. It is rightly of interest to all nations, not only to those of greater military prominence.

This is something that the Soviet Union recognizes and advocates, of course, as do the socialist countries. This is the philosophy behind the appeal, whose title synthesizes the Nonaligned Movement's concept of what peace and disarmament should be. In other words, peace through disarmament, not through measures of coercion and threats—for life and for disarmament. The document will be addressed to all the nations of the world.

The third document contains the directives the non-aligned countries will follow for the third special session of the United Nations devoted to disarmament, which will held at the United Nations beginning on 31 May.

[Caceres] [Passage omitted] Mr Minister, how do you see the role this meeting will play as preparation for the assembly on disarmament?

[Malmierca] Our meeting is being held on the eve of the UN's third period of sessions devoted to disarmament. It should be mentioned that these sessions respond to initiatives by the Nonaligned Movement. The two earlier sessions helped in the efforts noted by Magda. The topic of disarmament, just as the topic of peace and development, involves all of the human race. We are working to create conditions in our meeting among the nonaligned countries that will help the third session on disarmament

achieve its goals and be a big success. We are working on the premise that the struggle for peace and disarmament is a task for everybody. The threat of nuclear war, nuclear holocaust, is a threat that hangs over us all. There would be no winners in a nuclear war; there would only be victims. The struggle to prevent this is the duty of all.

That is why, when working in Havana to prepare for the third UN session on disarmament, we are acting on that premise. The bilateral agreements undoubtedly have great importance. We hail these agreements and believe that more agreements should be concluded in this area. We trust that the fourth meeting of the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States in Moscow will pave the way for new measures to eliminate 50 percent of strategic nuclear arms and that new prospects will open up for the elimination of chemical weapons. In addition to these bilateral agreements, we believe that it is important for the United Nations to play a role. The disarmament conference should also be part of this process. We hope that in addition to bilateral accords, we may have multilateral decisions which not only commit everyone but will also cause everyone to participate in this very urgent and very necessary effort.

We believe that the time has come when we might really begin a new stage, a new era, as we said earlier, for all of humankind.

[Caceres] Although there are more than 100 countries, especially underdeveloped countries, represented in the Nonaligned Movement, we know that they don't often always agree. What would be the most debated points at this Havana meeting?

[Malmierca] Perhaps (?this is) optimistic, but we have begun our meeting following a process of consultation. Some Cuban delegations have visited other members of the Nonaligned Movement. We have also received delegations from other countries in Havana. We have had the chance to hear the views of a large number of the nonaligned countries while at the United Nations in New York. We feel that the drafts Cuba presented some time ago for consideration by this meeting have met with a positive response.

Of course, it is no longer news; it's well known that we have presented a new version, a first revision of the draft declarations and the draft appeal, because we found very positive suggestions during the consultation process that we have tried to incorporate into these drafts. Some of these suggestions sought to make the documents briefer. We see this as a positive trend because even the existence of the appeal proposal seeks to make the document not only a document for experts, for Foreign Ministry officials, for those who work on these matters; we have tried to come up with a document that can be presented to world opinion, that can be published by the world press, that can be shown on television and understood by the

viewers. We have tried to come up with something short. I think our draft is 65 lines long. It comes up to three pages. We are trying to cover the principal idea, the essential idea.

You ask me what the most polemical topics are. I don't think this is the type of meeting where you debate whether this should be this way or that. I feel that the effort will be directed more to how best to express a common will —the will to make all states, all nations participate in the struggle for disarmament.

[Caceres] [Passage omitted] With all these meetings, these gatherings, and the nonaligned's decision to achieve cooperation [words indistinct]. We simply issue appeals, calls, but it goes no further. Has something been done to make this more practical?

[Malmierca] The Nonaligned Movement is an institution whose decisions are not binding. The decisions are put to the member countries. We feel they really exert an important influence in the course of international events. You referred to some of the movement's activities last year. There are others, such as the meeting of the committee on Palestine, the committee on the Central American situation, the creation of the economic committee, which took place when the South-South conference was held in Pyongyang. We feel that each one of these steps, these decisions, has helped to make these tendencies clearer, more precise in the overall positions of the states. We are making progress.

We have to deal with very complex problems when we speak of the meeting of the nonaligned committee on Palestine, the struggle of the Palestinian people, the struggle of the Arab people against the Israeli occupation of their territory. This process has been going on for more than 30 years. There have been seven wars. They are not problems easily resolved. However, we feel that world public opinion and the views set forth by the states increasingly reflect a common criteria on the need to find a real, permanent, honorable solution to each one of these problems.

[Caceres] I also think that there is one element that is a clear indication of the positive results of the Nonaligned Movement's work. This is the openly hostile U.S. policy against the nonaligned countries.

[Malmierca] Yes, the United States is aligned against the nonaligned. That's clear. Sometimes the United States complains that many paragraphs in the declarations of the Nonaligned Movement are critical of its position. We the nonaligned are not really to blame. The fault is not that of those who draft the declarations or who determine their content. The fault belongs to those who act against the interests of nations.

Some critical references to the United States appear in our draft declaration. There's the negative role of the U.S. contribution to the policies of the apartheid regime

of the racist South African regime, the policy against peace, against life. This process has enabled the Pretoria government to possess nuclear arms. It is not our wish to criticize. We wish to point out the dangers of negative situations. We believe that if we are to act honestly, we have to do it.

[Caceres] [Passage omitted] We thank you for appearing on "Optica Internacional." [passage omitted]

Closed-Door Session Held

FL2705192888 Havana Radio Rebelde Network
in Spanish 1700 GMT 27 May 88

[Report by Orlando Contreras and Alexis Sotolongo from the Palace of Conventions in Havana]

[Text] The nonaligned countries' meeting on disarmament began this morning behind closed doors. It was attended by high-level officials of the document drafting committee.

As everyone knows, Cuba, as the host nation, presented the Coordinating Bureau in New York and those representatives in the capitals of the 101 countries that comprise the nonaligned countries with the documents that will be approved by the ministers during their meeting, which begins tomorrow afternoon.

Additions have already been made to those documents which the Cuban Foreign Ministry considers to be constructive. As is customary, the ministers will certainly make new additions or amendments.

It seems certain, however, that there will be complete agreement in supporting the efforts toward nuclear disarmament as shown by several documents that were signed last December in Washington at the Gorbachev-Reagan summit.

It is expected that there will not be the slightest objection to urging the Soviet Union and the United States to proceed with their disarmament program. If one agreement has now been signed dismantling short- and medium-range missiles, it is truly possible to sign an agreement that would eliminate strategic nuclear weapons and prevent the arms race from being extended to space.

In this sense, the Havana meeting coincides with the Reagan-Gorbachev meeting in Moscow.

According to previous documents, the nonaligned countries, which comprise more than two-thirds of the world population, feel that a question as vital to humanity as the prevention of a nuclear holocaust concerns everyone. It is certain that there will be a consensus when the meeting ends on Monday so that the nonaligned countries can make themselves heard during the third special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, which begins the following day in New York.

Officials Prepare for Meeting

FL2805030788 Havana Television Service
in Spanish 0000 GMT 28 May 88

[Text] High-level officials have met during the second day of work to prepare the special ministerial meeting on disarmament of the Nonaligned Movement and continued discussing the documents. In the discussion, the three drafts submitted by Cuba have been characterized as a good foundation to attain the approval at the ministerial level. This was confirmed by the tens of people who made remarks before the drafting committee, chaired today by Indian Deputy Foreign Minister (M. Dubey). Contributions and suggestions were made at the sessions, enriching these documents. The prevailing atmosphere is geared at taking a constructive position that helps common understanding to the UN General Assembly's third special meeting on disarmament.

Ninety five delegations from 86 countries and international organizations are already in Cuba. A representation of the Islamic Conference and of the UN secretary general are among them. This attendance guarantees the necessary quorum for the movement's ministerial meeting in Havana.

The ministerial phase of the meeting will begin tomorrow afternoon. Its main points will include the current disarmament negotiations, international safety, the UN's third special period of sessions, and the actions to promote disarmament initiatives, especially of the nuclear type.

It was also reported that during the ministerial meeting's opening session, the following will speak on behalf of the regional groups: Syria for Asia, Bolivia for Latin America, Libya for Africa, and Cyprus for Europe.

This afternoon, representatives of the FMLN held a news conference. They referred to the contribution the upcoming Moscow summit meeting between the USSR and the United States can make to the resolution of the Salvadoran situation.

[Begin speaker recording] The best thing for the Salvadoran conflict would be that a will of the two superpowers emerged from there to help Salvadorans negotiate and understand each other on our own, that some concern came out of there, some kind of decision that could have an effect in preventing an escalation of the conflict. [end recording]

The FMLN representative also referred to the present objective the Reagan administration has in Central America.

Ritter Holds News Conference

FL2805015588 Havana Radio Rebelde Network
in Spanish 0131 GMT 28 May 88

[Report by Orlando Contreras from the Palace of Conventions in Havana]

[Text] Tonight Panamanian Foreign Minister Jorge Ritter said here that the United States is engaged in what he called implacable persecution against his country because it wants to extend its military presence on the isthmus beyond the year 2000. He added that the United States is exacting a high price because Panama has refused to allow its territory to be used for an aggression in Nicaragua.

Ritter held a press conference at the Palace of Conventions 40 minutes after arriving in Havana. He disclosed that in 1985, Admiral John Poindexter, former national security advisor, asked General Manuel Antonio Noriega to drop out of Contadora and to allow arms to be transported from Panama for the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries. According to Ritter, when Noriega refused, Adm Poindexter told him that he would pay the price for taking that stance.

Ritter stated that there is no legal basis for the existence of the U.S. Southern Command in Panama.

He also said that the Reagan administration is pressuring Latin America to do in Panama what the United States has failed to do. But, he added, no Latin American country will tolerate this nor will it help in an intervention in any other Latin American country.

Ritter reported that his country is not discarding the possibility of printing its own paper currency to resolve the crisis caused by the shortage of dollars. He said that this option, as well as other economic and financial measures, are being studied in consultation with SELA.

As to the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Moscow, he said that the United States badly wanted to end the so-called Panamanian problem prior to the summit so that it would not be included in the discussion of regional conflicts. However, it failed, and the situation in Panama will inevitably be a topic at the Reagan-Gorbachev meeting, he said.

Ritter pointed out that Latin America's position on Panama is well known and cannot be disregarded.

As to Panama's election to the UN Human Rights Commission, Ritter saw it as a defeat for those who have wanted to use human rights as a tool of political pressure.

Lastly, he said that no matter who becomes president in the United States, relations have to change because they could not be worse than under Reagan.

On Discontinued Talks With U.S.

*FL2805013488 Havana Radio Rebelde Network
in Spanish 0056 GMT 28 May 88*

[Report by Alexis Colombo from the Palace of Conventions in Havana]

[Text] Right now Panamanian Foreign Minister Jose Eduardo Ritter is holding a press conference here within the framework of the special meeting on disarmament of the Nonaligned Movement Coordinating Bureau. Concerning the discontinuation of the talks between Panama and the United States, Ritter said:

[Begin Ritter recording] The talks with the United States have been discontinued. The announcement was made by Secretary of State Shultz in the United States after Panama rejected the U.S. ultimatum to accept an arrangement, to accept a series of conditions that were unacceptable to Panama. I must point out that the United States entered into conversations pressed by the urgency of reaching an arrangement. The United States was thinking more of domestic electoral concerns than of a lasting arrangement with Panama. That is why the proposals were inadmissible. That was the reason the talks ended with no specific outcome. [end recording]

FMLN's Handal Seeks Support

*FL2805031688 Havana Radio Reloj Network
in Spanish 0207 GMT 28 May 88*

[Text] What is happening in Panama is proof of what a people can do when they become aware of the need to defend their sovereignty. This has been said in Havana by Commander Jorge Shafick Handal, of the FMLN, during a press conference held at the Palace of Conventions, where experts are drafting the documents to be debated at the ministerial meeting of the Nonaligned Movement Coordinating Bureau which begins tomorrow.

Handal added that he himself was attending to lobby for political and diplomatic support for the cause of the Salvadoran people. He also wanted to warn about the serious situation in his country. He noted that the Army continues to be the principal factor of power in El Salvador and that the crisis of the Duarte regime is the result of his failure as president.

SFRY's Loncar Arrives

*LD2805080988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0641 GMT 28 May 88*

[Text] Havana, 28 May (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, arrived late last night in Havana, where he will lead the Yugoslav delegation at the special ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the nonaligned countries, devoted to disarmament. At Havana's Jose Marti International Airport, Loncar was greeted by Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, the Cuban minister of foreign affairs, as well as Mihajlo

Popovic, the Yugoslav ambassador to Havana. Malmierca and Loncar had brief cordial talks at the airport, primarily about the preparations for the ministerial meeting, which begins today.

PDRY Foreign Minister Arrives

*EA2905181788 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic
2030 GMT 28 May 88*

[Text] Dr 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dali, member of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee and foreign minister, arrived this evening in the Cuban capital, Havana, to attend the ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the nonaligned states. He was received on arrival at Havana international airport by Comrades Alejandro Roca, member of the PCC Political Bureau and minister of food industry; Isidoro Malmierca, the foreign minister; Brother Muhammad 'Abd al-Rahman Husayn, the ambassador of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen to the Socialist Republic of Cuba; and embassy staff members.

Syrian Minister Arrives

*FL2505234388 Havana Radio Rebelde Network
in Spanish 2300 GMT 25 May 88*

[Text] Nasir Qaddur, minister of state for foreign affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic, arrived in our country today. He will attend the special meeting of the Non-aligned Movement's Coordinating Bureau on disarmament which will begin in this capital tomorrow.

Meets Ministers

*JN2905071588 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic
0415 GMT 29 May 88*

[Excerpts] Havana—The special meeting of the Non-aligned Movement's Coordinating Bureau on disarmament is currently convening in the Cuban capital. Delegations from 110 countries are participating in the meeting, including 45 foreign ministers. Nasir Qaddur, minister of state for foreign affairs, heads the Syrian delegation to this meeting.

Qaddur said that the purpose of this meeting is to coordinate the nonaligned countries' stands so that they may undertake joint efforts and measures during the third extraordinary session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament that will convene in New York 31 May-25 June. [passage omitted]

Qaddur met on an ad hoc basis with the Cuban foreign minister during the special meeting of the Nonaligned Movement's Coordinating Bureau. The two sides coordinated their stands on the final documents that the meeting will issue. Qaddur also met with the Cypriot foreign minister. Discussions dealt with the agenda of the special meeting, bilateral relations, and the forthcoming nonaligned foreign ministers conference to be held in Nicosia on 25 September.

Kuwait's UN Envoy Speaks

LD2905085888 Kuwait KUNA in English 0805 GMT
29 May 88

[Text] Havana, Cuba, May 29 (KUNA)—Kuwait's United Nations Ambassador Muhammad A. Abu al-Hasan Sunday urged the Nonaligned Movement to help solve regional conflicts such as the Iraq-Iran war which he said exhausted the much-needed energy of two important members.

Speaking at the extraordinary ministerial meeting of the movement's Co-ordinating Bureau on disarmament, the Kuwaiti ambassador stressed the need to strengthen the Nonaligned Movement's endeavour for disarmament.

The five-day meeting, which ends Monday, precedes the U.N. special session on disarmament in New York, from May 31 to June 25, which is expected to call for total disarmament.

Abu al-Hasan said the role chosen by the movement in the field of disarmament requires more efforts from its members to solve regional conflicts and diffuse the tensions that are threatening peace and security in the world.

He called for greater efforts by the Nonaligned Movement to stop the Iraq-Iran war and for the condemnation of the Israeli and south African entities, which he warned are "building nuclear arsenals to be used to terrorise the middle east and Africa."

"It is imperative to put an end to the increasing anxiety of the peoples of the world, because of the armament race that threatens all of mankind and consumes more than 1.7 million dollars every minute," Abu al-Hasan said.

Loncar Addresses Meeting

LD2905180088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0809 GMT 29 May 88

[Text] Havana, 28 May (TANJUG)—"Going at once into what I believe to be the basic motivation, purpose and task of our meeting, I should like to stress first and foremost: At this special ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of nonaligned countries we must agree on the form of our stance at the third special meeting of the UN General Assembly on disarmament. This means that we must identify constructively and realistically the ideas and the proposals with which we can appear jointly before the General Assembly," said Federal Secretary of Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar at the beginning of his speech at the special ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the nonaligned countries in Havana.

Loncar stressed that the proposals by the nonaligned countries should be realistic and constructive. He recalled that the visions of the policy of nonalignment

have never been idealistic aspirations, which he illustrated by the fact that the special UN General Assembly session on disarmament had been an idea of the non-aligned countries "which at the beginning looked far-removed, but which has become a reality."

Referring to the situation that characterizes present-day relations in the world Loncar stressed that the dialogue among the great powers "is obviously becoming increasingly certain and stable." "The fourth Soviet-U.S. summit during the past 2 and 1/2 years is underway in Moscow just now. Without a doubt this creates new and more favorable conditions for a positive development throughout the world. For the first time in history the USSR and the United States have concluded an agreement on the destruction of one category of nuclear weapons. This step, which is of exceptional political significance, has been acclaimed by us all. It has aroused the hope that the agreement has at long last ushered in a process of genuine disarmament," added the Yugoslav foreign secretary. He then said, among other things: "We can note with satisfaction that in this different and fresh mentality among the great powers we recognize the echo of the appeal by the nonaligned countries as far back as the first conference in Belgrade—that disarmament is one of the keys to the establishment of new relations of trust in the world. Obviously this stance presented by the nonaligned countries as a priority has withstood the test of time."

Having pointed out that global detente cannot be fulfilled unless the great powers give way, Budimir Loncar also recalled that "the relations among the great powers simply cannot remain hermetically closed to the influence and thereby also to a possible contribution by all those whose interests are also at stake." "If detente is pursued in a democratic atmosphere then it must be implemented in a democratic way as well. This is a clear, proven and inevitable fact of life."

He stressed that as far back as 1960 Tito, Nehru, Nasir, Sukarno, and Nkrumah suggested that the General Assembly should invite the two leading powers to hold a political summit. "The emphasis put forward by the nonaligned countries has therefore been, from the very beginning: Relations in the world cannot turn for the better without an adequate development in the relations between the United States and the USSR; the disarmament process cannot begin without the initial substantial contribution by those who are armed most, but this neither exhausts nor ends the process," said Loncar.

The Yugoslav foreign secretary drew attention to the "untenable situation in international economic relations, to this polarization of the world having a bearing on one's existence," as well as to other problems, conflicts, and crises. "This means that the negotiations between the great powers presuppose and make it necessary that other countries too should take part in building up detente and contributing to it," Budimir Loncar stressed in particular. In this context he insisted on the

consolidation of the UN role in the solution of the key present-day problems, including disarmament. "It is impossible to bring about general and complete disarmament as a jointly established objective, without the participation of all the countries," he said. He added: "For instance, nonproliferation of nuclear weapons cannot be obtained without the consent of all the countries. The ban on and the destruction of chemical weapons are feasible only by the agreement of the entire international community. Conventional disarmament, on a general and regional plane, cannot be imagined without the agreement of all interested parties."

The federal secretary of foreign affairs said that the nonaligned countries unanimously hope the third special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament will be successful and produce as positive and concrete results as possible.

He said that at this meeting the nonaligned countries should channel the direction of their involvement into expressing their expectation that without further delay the United States and the USSR should at least halve their strategic weapons.

Second, they should welcome the progress in the negotiations between the United States and the USSR to ratify the two existing agreements and gradually to reduce the number and the explosive force of underground tests, but that they should also demand that the process go on up to and including their total cessation.

They should also demand resolutely that a deadline be established for the completion of the negotiations on the banning and destruction of chemical weapons conducted in the disarmament conference in Geneva.

Fourth, they should work in the direction of preventing an arms race in space and concluding an agreement on the peaceful use of space.

Furthermore, we must work for negotiations to be started on conventional disarmament and, as number six, "we should insist on the military disengagement of the great powers and blocs from nonaligned areas, which also implies a restriction on and a reduction of military activity and on the rivalry between the great powers and blocs outside their borders."

Budimir Loncar attached special importance to the need to adapt the activity and the actions of the movement to the requirements of the times and changing circumstances. "This should be our concern with which we shall go to the meeting and ministerial conference on Cyprus and to the upcoming summit conference," he said.

As far as the specific issue of disarmament is concerned, Loncar said that the nonaligned countries should continue to criticize the nuclear powers, but that now, when the United States and the USSR are starting the process of eliminating entire categories of nuclear weapons and

in so doing are beginning to respond to the commitments they had taken on vis-a-vis mankind, they must have concrete support from the nonaligned countries in this matter. "However, we must permanently continue to press our demand for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons."

Finally, the federal secretary of foreign affairs called for broader diplomatic efforts within the framework of the United Nations, regional organizations and the Non-aligned Movement so as to prevent the possibility of armed conflicts breaking out between individual non-aligned countries or, alternately, to make it possible for the existing conflicts to be terminated. "These conflicts not only give rise to additional armament costs and encourage local armament races but they also constitute a burden on the political role and efficiency of the movement," he stressed.

"I think that this ministerial meeting, at which we have gathered together in such large numbers, demonstrates all the seriousness and the responsibility with which the nonaligned countries and our movement as a whole are tackling the disarmament problem. For this reason I believe in the success of our meeting," stressed Loncar, who also expressed his conviction that the nonaligned countries will make a significant contribution to the work of the special session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament.

TANJUG on 'Havana Appeal'

LD2905105188 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0914 GMT 29 May 88

[Text] Havana May 29 (TANJUG)—The ministerial meeting of the Nonaligned Coordination Bureau, which opened in Havana Saturday evening, adopted as its first document a special appeal addressed to all peoples in the world.

Here is the integral text of the appeal: The Havana appeal issued on the eve of the third special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament:

1. Ministers of foreign affairs of nonaligned countries meeting in Havana on the eve of the third special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament recalled that, during the last 26 years, the goal of general and complete disarmament has been one of the fundamental preoccupations of the movement. This goal remains valid as ever.

2. Nonaligned countries hope that favourable trends in the current international environment will be developed in the interest of a greater security, peace and sustained development for all humankind. In this context it is our firm conviction that the agreement between the USSR and the USA on the elimination of their medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles should mark the beginning of a process that must be consolidated.

3. The priority accorded to the adoption of concrete measures for the prevention of a nuclear war is implicit in the recognition that such a war would lead to the total annihilation of humankind and therefore should never be fought. This perception holds the promise of drastic reductions in strategic nuclear arms, which should lead to a phased, time-bound program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. It is also imperative that other nuclear weapons states join in this process.

4. The concept of international security, which has traditionally been premised on the acquisition of arms and mutual deterrence, has proved erroneous since it has failed to produce global stability. Common security for all states can only be assured by new concepts based on mutual confidence, cooperation and interdependence.

5. Noting with concern the enormous resources devoted to armaments, when two thirds of the world population lives in abject poverty, we reaffirm the immediate need to reduce military expenditures in favour of economic and social development. International peace and security can be guaranteed only by scrupulous respect for the principles of active peaceful coexistence among nations, nonintervention and noninterference, non-use of force in international relations and by the elimination of colonialism, foreign domination, apartheid and all other forms of racial discrimination. All nations must observe the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and strengthen the institutions of multilateral cooperation.

6. We reaffirm that all the people of the world have a vital interest in the success of disarmament negotiations. All states have the right and duty to contribute to efforts in the field of disarmament and to participate on an equal footing in those multilateral disarmament negotiations which have a direct bearing on their national security.

7. The third special mission of the General Assembly should promote broad international backing for the measures aimed at halting and reversing the arms race. It should promote implementation of the 1978 program of action and the priorities set forth in the final document of the first special session and it should reaffirm the central role and primary responsibility of the United Nations in the sphere of disarmament and for the implementation of concrete disarmament measures, in the field of nuclear weapons, weapons of mass destruction, chemical weapons and conventional weapons and for the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

8. We, the foreign ministers of the nonaligned countries, urge the international community to take urgent and concrete measures towards the achievement of these goals for a safer, more secure world today and for succeeding generations.

TASS on Appeal

LD3005082088 Moscow TASS in English 0625 GMT
30 May 88

[Text] Havana May 30 TASS—The Coordinating Bureau of the Nonaligned Movement passed an appeal to the peoples of the world which stresses the need further to step up the process of disarmament started by the Soviet Union and United States. All nations of the world, said the document passed at the extraordinary meeting on disarmament and called "The Havana Appeal," have a vital interest in the success of the disarmament talks.

The document stressed the need further to develop and strengthen the trend for peace, security and development, which was started by the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles.

Noting that general and complete disarmament was the main goal of the Nonaligned Movement in all the years of its existence, the representatives of nonaligned states underscored the urgent need to cut spending on arms and to divert the funds thus released to meet the needs of socio-economic development. Peace and international security, it runs, can be ensured only if the basic principles of peaceful co-existence: non-interference in the internal affairs of each other, refusal to use force in interstate relations, elimination of colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination are strictly observed.

Message Sent Reagan, Gorbachev

LD3005082488 Moscow TASS in English 0628 GMT
30 May 88

[Text] Havana May 30 TASS—The Coordinating Bureau of the nonaligned countries addressed a message to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan at its extraordinary meeting on disarmament.

Noting the great significance of the Moscow summit, the participants in the meeting pointed out the responsibility which lay on the United States and the Soviet Union for arms cuts and disarmament. On behalf of millions of people they expressed the hope that that responsibility would translate into concrete deeds in the course of the current meeting, primarily into significant cuts of strategic nuclear weapons and a nuclear test ban. Noting with satisfaction the progress achieved at bilateral talks, they stressed the need to step up multisided talks, especially within the U.N. framework.

Participants in the Havana meeting wished success to the Moscow meeting in stepping up the process of arms reductions and disarmament. They expressed the conviction that its decisions would help defuse international tensions, eliminate the threat of a nuclear war and strengthen peace and international security.

Castro Attends Opening

PA2905153988 Havana International Service
in Spanish 1500 GMT 29 May 88

[Text] Today in Havana, Cuban leader Fidel Castro attended the opening session of the Nonaligned Movement's meeting on disarmament.

In his opening speech, Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Natham Shamuyarira said that Cuba has been the champion of the entire Nonaligned Movement in its position in favor of social and economic equality throughout the world. The morning session of the meeting, which is attended by representatives from over 100 countries, will be marked by speeches from Cuba, Cyprus, Libya, Syria, and Bolivia.

Later there will be a debate of the documents approved during the experts' meeting that was held for 3 days in Havana.

Rodriguez Addresses Opening

FL3005124788 Havana Radio Progreso Network
in Spanish 1100 GMT 30 May 88

[Text] The Nonaligned Movement Coordinating Bureau's ministerial meeting on disarmament will close in Havana today. The final declaration, which calls for the need to save the world from nuclear disaster, will be approved during the session. The Havana appeal was approved in yesterday's session. The document notes the need for an immediate reduction of military spending to encourage economic and social development.

President Fidel Castro attended the official opening of the meeting. Vice President Carlos Rafael Rodriguez delivered the opening speech.

Yesterday, representatives from 110 countries attending the event approved a message they will send to President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who are holding a summit meeting in Moscow.

Last night, the delegations attended an official reception hosted by President Fidel Castro.

More on Rodriguez Opening Speech

FL3005182288 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network
in Spanish 1134 GMT 30 May 88

[Report by Paula Pina from the Palace of Conventions in Havana]

[Text] The ministerial phase of the Nonaligned Movement Coordinating Bureau's special meeting has begun with the attendance of our commander in chief, Fidel Castro, president of the Councils of State and Ministers. The international event has been held at the Palace of Conventions since 26 May. Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, vice president of the Councils of State and Ministers,

spoke at the opening session on behalf of Cuba as host country. The Cuban leader's speech was approved by acclamation as an official document of the meeting.

[Begin Rodriguez recording] Since its origins, the Non-aligned Movement has been vitally united on the issue of peace. In July 1961, when the preparatory meeting for the first conference of chiefs of state or ministers took place in Cairo, it was stated then that that meeting could turn into a basic factor for safeguarding peace and international security. The exchange of views on the international situation and the clarification and strengthening of the cause of peace and international security were, together with unequal economic development, among the top matters of discussion at the first conference of Belgrade. This was motivated by the deep concern expressed there that war had never constituted such a strong threat of grave consequences for humankind.

The increased danger of nuclear war constituted for the peoples a tragic expectation that became unbearable when the policy of President Reagan was unleashed, beginning in 1980, with a new and swift arms race. It could be thought that the peoples who live in underdeveloped countries, burdened by the terrible problems of hunger, poverty, and backwardness, should hardly concern themselves with the outcome of peace because its preservation would apparently mean so little to them.

Indeed, for hundreds of millions of men who still suffer from a miserable and hard-to-bear existence, to save their life is to barely continue living in conditions that resemble death. But to us, underdeveloped countries, peace is something more than preserving life. In 1979 Fidel Castro said at the General Assembly, on behalf of the nonaligned countries, that our transition to development will not take place unless conditions guarantee peace or lead to it. In the same way, no one will be able to speak of a true, humane, universal peace if it is not linked to the development of the peoples. [end recording]

In another portion of his speech, Carlos Rafael also referred to the existing prospects regarding the General Assembly's third period of sessions on disarmament.

[Begin Rodriguez recording] Because, esteemed ministers, heads of delegations, and delegates, in the midst of the catastrophic situation affecting the Third World, we meet in Havana today with less pessimism toward the General Assembly's third special period of sessions [words indistinct]. This is because we can now see there is hope for peace and disarmament. I believe that you will agree with me if I say that no one will rejoice more over the yet uncertain possibility than the nonaligned countries [words indistinct] of which we are part of.

This time, the UN General Assembly will not meet while listening to the beat of the drums and seeing how military spending is increased. The echoes of the Gorbachev-Reagan meeting will come from Moscow. We already know that the treaty on the reduction of 50 percent of strategic nuclear arms will not be signed there

as intended. But it is a preparatory meeting. Shevardnadze and Shultz confirmed that progress in the right direction is being made, carefully but certainly.

All of humankind followed with natural expectation in early December the meeting between the CPSU general secretary and the U.S. President for the signing of the medium-range nuclear weapons agreements which created the conditions to free Europe from nuclear arms and paved the way for the elimination of strategic nuclear weapons in the entire world. This was a first signal of understanding, marred only temporarily by the position of the U.S. Senate in its refusal to approve its ratification. This has already been overcome. The peoples begin to live with the certainty that the time of prepotency and threats has already passed. [end recording]

In the first work session, chaired by Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Mr Nathan Samuyarira, a group of heads of delegations spoke on behalf of the various regions.

The Palestine representative spoke for the liberation movements, the Syrian Arab Republic representative for Asia, the Bolivian foreign minister for Latin America, and Cyprus' foreign minister for the European Continent. All asserted that the arms race hinders the development of nations and maintains in a state of poverty the so-called Third World countries, which are precisely the ones that compose the Nonaligned Movement.

Robert Mugabe, president of Zimbabwe and acting president of the nonaligned countries, sent a message to those attending the meeting and said he was certain of the success of the debates since they are being held in a favorable atmosphere because the Havana meeting coincides with the Moscow summit. In his message, Mugabe says: I am confident that the preparations being made in Havana will result in an important contribution to the UN conference.

After participating in the reception held by Cuba, the delegates to the nonaligned ministerial meeting continued with the discussions. The international event will end today. Following the meeting, the majority of the participants will join the debate on disarmament which will begin at the United Nations.

Cyprus' Iakovou Gives Speech

NC2905213488 Nicosia Domestic Service
in Greek 1900 GMT 29 May 88

[Text] The conference of the nonaligned countries on disarmament has opened in Havana, attended by all 110 of the Nonaligned Movement's member countries. During the opening ceremony, Cypriot Foreign Minister Yeoryios Iakovou was elected vice chairman of the conference, which he addressed on behalf of Europe's nonaligned countries.

In his address Iakovou lauded the role of the nonaligned countries within the UN framework for the promotion of security and disarmament. Within the framework of the

conference Iakovou had meetings with his Yugoslav, Cuban, Colombian, Syrian, and Tunisian counterparts. He discussed with them matters pertaining to the non-aligned conference to be held in Nicosia, as well as the latest Cypriot developments. During meetings with counterparts from Mediterranean countries, Iakovou discussed the current situation in the Mediterranean in the light of the efforts by Cyprus and other countries for holding a conference on the Mediterranean region within the CSCE framework.

Natwar Singh Meets Castro

BK3005061088 Delhi Domestic Service
in English 0240 GMT 30 May 88

[Excerpts] Foreign ministers of nonaligned countries have called upon the United States and the Soviet Union to pave the way for an agreement on 50 percent reduction in the strategic nuclear arsenals by the end of this year. At the Nonaligned Coordinating Bureau meeting in Havana yesterday, they adopted a message to be sent to the ongoing Moscow superpower summit urging the two leaders to discharge their overwhelming responsibility in the field of disarmament. [passage omitted]

The main thrust of the speeches has been to underline the timing of the coming UN session on disarmament and the need to see that the despondency of the pre-INF days is not allowed to reappear.

The Pakistani foreign minister [as heard], Mr Zain Noorani, was the sole exception to raise a number of regional issues. He said all conflicts cannot be attributed to superpower rivalry alone, but those Third World countries also who are themselves producing and acquiring weapons beyond their legitimate requirements.

The minister of state for external affairs, Mr Natwar Singh, who is leading the Indian delegation to the Havana meet, called on the Cuban leader, Mr Fidel Castro, yesterday. Their talks, lasting about 2 hours, covered a wide range of developments apart from the issues being discussed at the bureau meeting. Mr Natwar Singh apprised Mr Castro of Indian efforts in connection with Afghanistan and Cambodia.

Iran's Lavasani Meets Ministers

LD3005115588 Tehran IRNA in English 1128 GMT
30 May 88

Tehran, May 30, IRNA—Deputy foreign minister for international affairs, Mohammad Hoseyn Lavasani, currently in Cuba to take part in a session of the Coordinating Bureau of the Nonaligned Movement (NAM), met with foreign ministers of Cyprus, Pakistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, and acting foreign minister of Cuba, Sunday.

In these meetings, the agenda of the Nonaligned meet and Iran's proposals regarding a paragraph on the deployment of chemical weapons, the necessity to take a

stronger stand by NAM on banning the use of these fatal weapons and executive measures against the country deploying them, were discussed.

Lavasani also reviewed with his counterparts, concentration of U.S. military forces at strategic international corners of the world as well as U.S. aggression against NAM member states.

In other meetings held with Cuba's acting foreign minister, Zimbabwean and Libyan foreign ministers they stressed dangers of deployment of chemical weapons as well as the need to eliminate such inhuman arms.

During meetings with Syrian minister of state for foreign affairs, Tanzanian deputy defence minister who heads his country's mission to the NAM meet, and the Yugoslav foreign minister, it was emphasized that the NAM states should take common and similar stands in various international forums.

Afghan Minister Meets Malmierca
*LD2905215288 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari
1600 GMT 29 May 88*

[Text] Abdul Wakil, Afghanistan's foreign affairs minister, met yesterday with Malmierca, Cuba's foreign affairs minister, in Havana. During the meeting the ministers discussed the implementation of the Geneva accords, the measures of the Republic of Afghanistan and other related issues in bilateral relations, and regional and international matters. They also talked about the unity of opinion among the foreign affairs ministers participating in the Nonaligned Movement Coordinating Bureau meeting concerning disarmament.

Afghanistan's foreign affairs minister, heading a delegation, arrived in Havana yesterday to take part in the meeting of foreign ministers of the Nonaligned Movement Coordinating Bureau.

Wakil Meets Counterparts
*LD3005222388 Kabul Domestic Service
in Pashto 1530 GMT 30 May 88*

[Text] Abdul Wakil, Afghan minister of foreign affairs, who was in Havana yesterday to attend the nonaligned Coordinating Bureau meeting, met separately with the foreign ministers of India, Argentina, Colombia, the PDRY, Cyprus, Vietnam, Vienna [as heard], and Nicaragua. During these meetings they talked about mutual matters and international and regional issues. The foreign minister shed light on the circumstances concerning the implementation of the Geneva agreements.

Castro Hosts Reception

*FL3005134088 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network
in Spanish 1100 GMT 30 May 88*

[Text] The Nonaligned Movement Coordination Bureau's meeting on disarmament will close today. Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, president of the Councils of State and Ministers, hosted a reception at the Palace of the Revolution in honor of the delegations participating in the Nonaligned Movement special ministerial meeting. Members of PCC Politburo, Secretariat, other members of the Central Committee, foreign ministers, and high-level officials who are attending the important international event attended the reception.

Nicaragua's D'Escoto Interviewed

*FL3005152588 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network
in Spanish 1100 GMT 30 May 88*

[Interview with Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto by reporter Paula Pina; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Pina] What is your opinion of this first meeting on disarmament being held in Havana?

[D'Escoto] I believe it is a very important meeting. It's aim is for members of the movement to go better prepared and for us to give a clearer position of the movement at the special session in New York, at the General Assembly. I believe this initiative is very important and that we are going to satisfactorily achieve the objective of the meeting.

[Pina] Do you believe the Moscow summit meeting can help reduce tension in Central America?

[D'Escoto] Obviously, it will not be damaging. I believe it helps to reduce tension in the entire world inasmuch as dialogue is taking place and progress is being made in the objective of favoring the cause of peace. I believe this is of help. However, I do not know to what degree it can be expected that the Americans are going to give up their irresponsible adventurous policy against Nicaragua and are going to opt to sit down at the negotiating table and talk to us. They are terrified of us, they run away, and they are afraid of sitting with us and finding a sort of mirror which we are going to put in front of them so they can see themselves how they are. Otherwise, we do not understand why they refuse to hold a dialogue.

They can no longer expect the world to consider this war as a covert war, as it used to be called. It is not the least bit covert. Everyone knows ... [changes thought] They have been condemned at the International Court of Justice with the most clear and categorical sentence, the most clear condemning sentence issued against any country in the history of international law. It is time for the United States to acknowledge that peace is better than war and that the country's behavior needs to be in

line with the norms of civilized coexistence established by the UN Charter, which they have also been committed to respect and defend as members of the Security Council.

We have not lost hope that the United States will understand this someday. I believe this day can actually come in the not too distant future. We think it is very difficult for a person such as President Reagan to stop the use of force on a short-term basis as a way to crush the sovereign will of the peoples. We have this hope, we will continue struggling, and we believe this is our main contribution to nonalignment and the cause of peace.

Cited on U.S. Actions

PA3105035888 Havana International Service
in Spanish 2300 GMT 30 May 88

[Maria Elena Samper report on interview with Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto at the Palace of Conventions in Havana—date not given]

[Excerpt] On the occasion of the special ministers' meeting of the Nonaligned countries Coordinating Bureau on the topic of disarmament that is being held in Havana, we had the opportunity to talk with Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto. He told us that Latin America is on the threshold of a new era, because there is, in general, a great nationalist conscience. He told us the following:

[Begin recording] All of this new movement we are referring to is a new nationalist conscience that is being born in Panama. I think this is General Torrijos' greatest contribution. When Gen Torrijos decided to recover Panamanian sovereignty, he decided he had to turn this into a Latin American cause, and not just a bilateral U.S.-Panama issue. To a great extent, he achieved something that had been impossible up to that time in Latin America. [end recording]

The Nicaraguan foreign minister added that after the Torrijos-Carter Treaties were signed in 1977, the United States suffered its first great defeat at the OAS when it tried to organize an inter-American peace force to prevent the Sandinist victory in his country. Later, in 1983, the Malvinas Island situation deepened the Latin American nationalist conscience and opened the eyes of many who could not or did not want to see the nature of the colossus of the north:

[Begin recording] Now, it is evident with Nicaragua; and then there is the Latin American answer—the Contadora and Support Groups. We now see these outrages and undignified actions against the sister Republic of Panama. All of this attitude of the empire is what helps clarify the Latin American conscience and achieve a greater unity and coordination in the struggle for defense and sovereignty. [end recording] [passage omitted]

On Talks With Contras

LD3105125888 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1134 GMT
31 May 88

["Pool item"]

[Text] Havana, May 31 (Pool)—If the US State Department and the CIA leave it up to the contras to decide their position, I think the latter may sign a definite ceasefire agreement, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto has stated.

D'Escoto was addressing the extraordinary nonaligned ministerial meeting on disarmament in Havana, pointing out that the negotiations with the contras have already solved about 20 of the 32 points of the basic document.

The minister reviewed the negotiations carried out in Central America in the past few years, stating that Contadora and Support Groups constitute the most important political achievement in Latin America since its states achieved independence.

The agreements Esquipulas II are aimed at renewing negotiations on security, verification and control of armaments in Central America, D'Escoto said, adding he was in favor of Contadora Group's participation in the continuation of talks.

Pointing out that the efforts for the re-establishment of peace in Central America have been affected by Washington's intervention policy, D'Escoto said his country nevertheless offered a hand of friendship to the US, on the condition that it be based on mutual respect, recognition and equality of rights of all states.

Panama's Ritter Gives Address

PA3105012488 Panama City MATUTINO in Spanish
30 May 88 p 15

[Speech by Panamanian Foreign Minister Jorge Eduardo Ritter at the third extraordinary meeting of the Non-aligned Movement Coordinating Bureau in Havana on 29 May]

[Text] Mr President:

Yesterday, while we awaited the inaugural session of this Nonaligned Movement Coordination Bureau, incessant international press releases reported on the superpower summit. The rest of the world impatiently and expectantly observed the beginning of an effort that could decide the fate of the rest of the world, without that sector's being a part of the effort. That is the tragedy of our time: Humanity's future is in the hands of militarist irrationality, of which many countries of the world are not participants, nor do we want to be.

In the hope of being heard, the poor countries of the world have established their positions, knowing that it is others who are capable of eradicating every trace of life from the face of the earth. It is not enough for us to say this or for the utopia of disarmament to begin to become true: The fact is that it is useless to destroy entire arsenals if one has the capability, and especially the willingness, to build them up again.

Therefore, we cannot continue to look at disarmament as the quantitative decrease of the elements of war but as an attitude toward life: Having replaced the absurd technology of destruction with a fanatical vocation for peace, scientific progress in weaponry cannot disappear, but we can at least regret having made those achievements and consider them a curse of the era and not an expression of human genius.

The figures used to express the size of the arsenals of death are terrifying, but it is useless to repeat them or compare them with the figures needed to resolve humanity's urgent needs if we cannot establish a new culture of peace in the world. The ability to destroy the planet seven times instead of three cannot be claimed as a victory. It is not only important to reduce the physical capabilities of destruction but to annihilate the will to use human intelligence for destructive purposes.

This special session was preceded by encouraging signs throughout the world, which predict the advent of a slow but hopeful process of detente between the two superpowers. This fact, although it should not be blown out of proportion nor its real scope altered, deserves international encouragement because of the authentic opportunity it offers to firmly begin the process to reverse the so far uncontrollable arms race, thus freeing humanity from nuclear disaster.

It is time, therefore, to initiate a peace offensive that will not require special sessions, international forums, or presidential summits; a peace offensive that will be as strong and uncontrollable as the uncontrollable arms race we have witnessed during the final part of this century.

It is also absurd that the world praises the signing of agreements to reduce sophisticated armaments of highly destructive capacity while many countries are still victims of non-nuclear military threats and while the threat of conventional weapons are still used to frighten weak nations. I, therefore, must insist that more than a quantitative reduction, disarmament must be a disposition of the spirit.

Other international forums have discussed disarmament and the Nonaligned Movement has been discussing it since its first meeting. However, we continue witnessing with terror that the more the world stresses the urgent need to implement disarmament to guarantee safer international coexistence, the more the basis for international coexistence is undermined.

It is not necessary to repeat here that in the last few months, my country has lived under a continuous U.S. military threat. The number of international, bilateral, and multilateral norms that are arrogantly violated increases by the day. Contempt for international legal order and the arrogance and haughtiness with which it is violated have turned Central America into a field where one plays the game of supremacy of power and into a scenario where the United States arrogantly displays an exaggerated military presence, which only adds tensions to the already conflict-stricken region.

In this session on disarmament, my country once again resorts to the Nonaligned Movement to state that while making progress in the agreements to reduce medium-range missiles with the Soviet Union, the United States is increasing its military presence in Panama and is violating treaties agreed on by our two nations by conducting military maneuvers, which are a dangerous provocation and a violation of Panama's territorial integrity.

Mr President:

The Nonaligned Movement has made an extraordinary effort to lead the world toward disarmament and to use the many resources, which are now destined toward destructive ends, to develop the world. Panama joins the voices of those who cry out unflinchingly for a world ruled by legal order and for a world in which strategic balance is not determined by equality of armaments, but by peace agreements. Panama joins the voices of those who cry for a world in which death arsenals are destroyed and disappear from the mind of men.

Qaddur's Speech Cited

JN3105080388 *Damascus Domestic Service*
in Arabic 0415 GMT 31 May 88

[Text] Havana—Nasir Qaddur, minister of state for foreign affairs, has delivered Syria's speech at the evening session of the emergency ministerial meeting of the Nonaligned Movement's Coordinating Bureau on disarmament which began its work 2 days ago.

At the beginning of his speech, Qaddur pointed to the effective role played by the Nonaligned Movement's states in embodying the concepts of world peace and security and in achieving justice and freedom among peoples in the face of the racist and hostile trends and the imperialist and colonialist forces. He stressed the need to adhere to what was achieved during these meetings with the objective of reinforcing world peace and security in accordance with the principles of international law and the UN Charter.

The minister reviewed Israel's nuclear armaments. He said: Israel's possession of nuclear arms and its participation in the Star Wars program, taking into consideration that it is a hostile and racist entity that rejects

peace, constitute a direct and continuous threat to security in the Middle East region. He affirmed that Israel's continued occupation of the occupied Arab territories, its aggressive practices, and the policy of annexation and expulsion constitute a clear expression of its rejection of the establishment of a true peace.

The minister spoke about the Zionist enemy's racist and inhuman practices in the occupied Arab territories. He stressed that these practices are crimes against humanity.

Regarding Syria's call for holding an international conference under UN auspices to distinguish between terrorism and peoples' legitimate struggle for national liberation, Qaddur said: The Nonaligned Movement's adoption of the call for holding such a conference constitutes an effective contribution toward enabling the struggling peoples to liberate their homelands and to restore sovereignty in these homelands.

Concluding his speech, Qaddur stressed Syria's commitment to the principles of the Nonaligned Movement's states, and its support for the movement's efforts to guarantee all people's rights to self-determination, to obliterate imperialism and colonialism, and to end occupation and foreign hegemony.

Castro Meets With Delegates

*FL3105025288 Havana Radio Reloj Network
in Spanish 0202 GMT 31 May 88*

[By Fernando Delgado and (Carlos Comezana)]

[Text] I think that all the efforts made at this nonaligned countries conference are very supportive of the efforts to attain world peace, said Commander in Chief Fidel Castro.

The chief of the revolution made this statement to journalists covering the ministerial meeting of the non-aligned countries on disarmament after concluding a 2-hour meeting with delegates to this forum. Fidel told the press that he did not make any public statements but that prior to this he met with the African representatives to give them some information. He later decided to do this with all the delegates.

The commander in chief stressed the efforts of this first nonaligned conference on disarmament. The participants worked 48 hours—through early morning—to prepare the position they will present at the United Nations.

Agreements With Tunisia Signed

*FL3105034188 Havana Radio Reloj Network
in Spanish 0203 GMT 31 May 88*

[Text] Trade and cultural agreements were signed today by Cuba and Tunisia to reinforce and once again expand the relations of friendship and cooperation in both areas.

The documents were signed in Havana during the special meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Nonaligned Countries on disarmament. The ceremony closing the special meeting will be held tonight in Havana's Palace of Conventions.

Speaking at the ceremony where the documents were signed, Giraldo Mazola, Cuban vice foreign minister, and Taieb Sahbani, Tunisian secretary of state for Foreign Affairs, stressed the relations between the two countries which will increase even more with these documents.

Sahbani stressed the success that the Cuban national ballet had in his country. He said that exchanges in all sectors will soon follow.

El Salvador

Duarte Ill; To Leave for U.S. for Treatment
PA2705222688 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSU
in Spanish 1800 GMT 27 May 88

[Report by correspondent David Marciano Rivas]

[Excerpt] In the coming hours Salvadoran President Jose Napoleon Duarte will travel to the United States to receive medical attention, sources close to the president reported this morning. We repeat, in the coming hours Salvadoran President Jose Napoleon Duarte will travel to the United States to receive medical attention, sources close to the president reported this morning.

Culture and Communications Minister Roberto Viera read a press communique issued by the Presidency which states that President Duarte is suffering from bleeding gastric ulcers, requiring that he travel abroad to receive medical attention. Communications Minister Roberto Viera, reporting on the state of the president's health, said the following:

[Begin Viera recording] The presidential press communique reads as follows: Today, Thursday, 26 May, Salvadoran President Jose Napoleon Duarte during a medical consultation was found to be suffering from gastric ulcers complicated by bleeding. Therefore, the doctors have recommended that he rest and undergo specialized tests, which should be performed abroad. The president is currently attending to administrative matters from his private home, according to doctors' recommendations.

This is the brief communique released by the Presidency on President Duarte's state of health. According to the doctors' recommendations, he will have to leave to undergo specialized tests on this problem in the United States. Therefore, we are awaiting the return of Vice President Rodolfo Castillo Claramount, who is expected to return tomorrow from abroad. When he returns, President Jose Napoleon Duarte will probably leave for the United States to undergo the medical tests and checkup recommended by the doctors. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Government, Parties To Hold Meeting 7 June
PA3105000288 Panama City ACAN in Spanish
2307 GMT 30 May 88

[Excerpts] San Salvador, 30 May (ACAN-EFE)—Today it was officially announced that the meeting on a peace proposal between the government and the country's main political parties, originally scheduled for tomorrow, was suspended because of the ailment that is afflicting President Jose Napoleon Duarte.

However, the meeting will be held on 7 June at the presidential palace and will be presided over by Vice President Rodolfo Castillo Claramount. [passage omitted]

In addition, it was reported that the message on the 4 years of government that Duarte was supposed to give to the nation on 1 June will be read by Castillo Claramount. [passage omitted]

Deputy's Change of Party Gives ARENA Majority
PA2805221788 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSKL
in Spanish 1200 GMT 27 May 88

[Excerpt] The impasse at the Legislative Assembly is over. After overcoming the impasse at the Legislative Assembly, 53 deputies from the Nationalist Republican Alliance [ARENA] and the ruling Christian Democratic Party held the Assembly's second session.

The legislative stalemate lasted 26 days and was overcome after PCN [National Conciliation Party] Deputy Nestor Ramirez Palacios joined the conservative ARENA party, breaking the impasse and giving ARENA a majority. This allows ARENA to control appointments to key positions such as the Supreme Court and the District Attorney's Office. [passage omitted]

Cristiani Named ARENA Presidential Candidate
PA2905125488 Paris AFP in Spanish 2343 GMT
28 May 88

[Excerpts] San Salvador, 28 May (AFP)—Today a rightist Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) convention unanimously proclaimed Alfredo Cristiani as its presidential candidate for the 1989 elections in El Salvador. [passage omitted]

Former Major Roberto D'Aubuisson—the man who founded ARENA in September 1981—nominated Cristiani before the 1,000 delegates who attended today's convention. His nomination was approved unanimously. [passage omitted]

FMLN Denies 'Confrontation' With Honduran Army
PA2705171688 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos
in Spanish to El Salvador 0000 GMT 27 May 88

["FMLN communique to the people of Honduras and El Salvador and to the local and international press" issued in El Salvador on 26 May]

[Text] The FMLN announces the following:

1. On Wednesday, 25 May, Radio America, a well-known Honduran radio station, broadcast a report that FMLN units had entered Honduran territory on 24 May through La Paz Department, which borders Morazan Department in El Salvador.

According to that report, our fighters staged five attacks on positions of the 10th Infantry Battalion, based in Marcala, killing four soldiers and wounding several others.

The FMLN explains to the press and to the Honduran people that this report is totally false. The FMLN has had no part in those incidents in Honduran territory.

2. The true facts are the following: Soldiers of the 10th Battalion from Marcala arrived at 2300 on 24 May at El Bailadero, a place where an illegal liquor outlet is located. There was a confrontation between soldiers and the owners of the place, in which a subsergeant of the 10th Battalion and three civilians were killed: Francisco Velasco, Secundino Manuel, and Manuel's wife, who was pregnant.

When the shots were heard, other soldiers went to the site and there was a prolonged and indiscriminate exchange of fire in the area. Subsequently, the Honduran Army assigned two regular battalions and a special forces battalion to the area.

3. This distortion of the facts worries us because the incident could be used to help create a climate of tension in the border area as a means of preparing the groundwork for an increased involvement of the Honduran Army in the war in El Salvador, which would lead to the undesired regionalization of the conflict.

It is worthwhile to note the excessive response of the Honduran Army in the form of the immediate deployment of three battalions to the area, as if this were a premeditated action.

We recall that commando units participated in the latest military operation in Morazan Department with the support of Honduran and Salvadoran troops, who crossed into our territory from Honduras. Similarly, the Salvadoran Army's Arce Battalion used Honduran territory for its deployment and penetration into our Morazan Department.

The FMLN reiterates to the Honduran people that we are waging a just and legitimate war against the counterinsurgent regime in El Salvador. We are not engaged in any confrontation with the Honduran Army.

We call on the Honduran press to go to the area to confirm the facts and disseminate information in a truthful and professional manner.

We call on all democratic, patriotic, and progressive sectors and the mass organizations in Honduras and El Salvador to be alert to these events in the border area because they may involve new attempts by the Reagan administration to involve Honduras in the war in El Salvador, thereby causing the undesirable regionalization of the conflict.

El Salvador, 26 May 1988

[Signed] FMLN

Guatemala

Discharged Officers Charged With 'Rebellion'
PA2805215288 Panama City ACAN in Spanish
1759 GMT 28 May 88

[Excerpts] Guatemala City, 28 May (ACAN-EFE)—Today official sources reported that two discharged officers accused of being involved in the 11 May coup attempt were arrested and charged with "rebellion."

The Guatemalan Army reported that Major Gustavo Adolfo Diaz Lopez, a former military intelligence officer, and Lieutenant Edgar Geovin Estrada Portillo had been arrested yesterday.

The two officers were discharged in 1987 for "insubordination." They were brought before a court and charged with "rebellion." Following a 5-hour interrogation at the court, an order for their arrest was issued last night. They are being held at the preventive detention center in Guatemala City. [passage omitted]

These two officers have publicly accused the Guatemalan Government of facilitating communist infiltration in the country. In addition, they charged that Defense Minister Hector Alejandro Gramajo and other officials are involved in drug trafficking. [passage omitted]

Honduras

Further on 'Confrontation' With FMLN
PA2705164988 Tegucigalpa Cadena Audio Video
in Spanish 1130 GMT 26 May 88

[Excerpts] A confrontation between members of our Army and Salvadoran FMLN guerrillas occurred Tuesday night near Sabanetas, a border community in La Paz Department.

As members of the Marcala Battalion repelled the aggression, two soldiers were reported wounded; it is not known whether the guerrillas sustained any casualties.

This is the information received yesterday by our colleague Victor Manuel Zelaya from Mauro Suazo of Radio Suari in La Paz, who is our correspondent in Marcala.

[Begin recording] [Suazo] Good morning, Radio America nationwide. Here is a last-minute report. It has been confirmed that there was a confrontation between members of the Honduran Army and subversives from El Salvador in the border area of La Paz Department. Radio Suari's (EF News) has confirmed this through reliable sources.

At 2000 yesterday, Tuesday, 24 May, in the border area of Sabanetas, a village in Marcala municipality, units of our 10th Infantry Brigade based in Marcala repelled a

guerrilla attack. FMLN guerrillas from El Salvador unexpectedly entered Honduran territory. Infantry Sergeant Dominguez and Private German Gonzalez were injured in this guerrilla attack. [passage omitted]

[Zelaya] Could you tell us how many FMLN and Army members were involved in last night's incident?

[Suazo] Reliable sources within the 10th Infantry Battalion say that the entire company assigned to the Sabanas region was involved in the fight with approximately one column of FMLN guerrillas.

[Zelaya] Was this the first encounter between the FMLN and the national Army in this part of the Honduran border?

[Suazo] There have been several clashes in that sector of La Paz Department.

[Zelaya] Was anyone killed in previous encounters?

[Suazo] Yes, three soldiers assigned to the Marcala region were killed in a previous engagement.

[Zelaya] How many confrontations have there been between Salvadoran guerrillas and the Army?

[Suazo] I do not know, but there have been a total of five in that area.

[Zelaya] How are the residents of Marcala, or of the border region, feeling?

[Suazo] They are calm, but always on the alert, because the attacks in that sector are increasing. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Nicaragua

Talks Between Contras, Government Continue

RN's Ferrey Comments

PA2705172788 Managua Radio Corporacion
in Spanish 0400 GMT 27 May 88

[News conference held by Nicaraguan Resistance (RN) leader Azucena Ferrey with unidentified national and international newsmen at the El Camino Real Hotel in Managua; date not given—recorded; broadcast in progress]

[Text] [Ferrey] ...could be definitive. I told Mr Rey that if there is goodwill and we hold talks and try to implement what is being requested, a national dialogue will take place to discuss a number of issues.

[Reporter] Perhaps the problem is that you say there is goodwill on the part of the other side and the other side says the same about you. Where is the goodwill? Who determines [words indistinct]?

[Ferrey] Your question boils down to asking me what came first, the chicken or the egg. The truth is that we virtually received an ultimatum. We were told the meeting would take place in Managua or there would be no meeting. We are interested in the meeting although Sapoa specifies a 30-day truce that, want it or not, will end on 30 May. That is the reality.

[Reporter] Are you also including a new proposal on the zones and entering the zones...

[Ferrey, interrupting] But it was not the zones issue that caused a delay. The zones were specified on maps, but those maps were not signed. The problem is that the government conditioned the modus operandi in those zones to our laying down our arms and believing that there will be democratization here. They are saying: Return to civilian life.

Oscar Leonardo Montalvan [FDN spokesman] made a good observation: If one leaves home because there is a tiger there, how can one return if the tiger has not yet left? If we feel there are no guarantees ensuring equal conditions and participation even [2-second break in reception] power. Father Solis told me: What you want is power, as if this were a mortal sin. Every political organization struggles to achieve power.

What did the FSLN struggle for? Where is the FSLN? Is it not in power? They are afraid of losing power. That is the problem. I believe it is illogical to come here only to dwell on unfulfilled promises and maintain the status quo.

[Reporter] Dr Ferrey, the problem is that the Sandinists basically took power by toppling the previous government through the use of arms...

[Ferrey, interrupting] Please, that is how this is presented, but I am Nicaraguan and [words indistinct].

[Reporter] You somehow give the impression that you want to achieve what you have been unable to achieve through the use of arms at the negotiating table, which is theoretically not for that purpose; it is for establishing a framework for social coexistence. We know you want power. If you are willing to take power away from the Sandinists through negotiations, why do you not struggle for power in elections?

[Ferrey] That is what we are asking the FSLN. Why are they afraid of implementing an honest electoral process; not a rigged process as the 1984 elections when we knew the results beforehand. We should start with the logical steps: first, the issuance of identification cards to citizens, then registration, and then verification...

[Reporter, interrupting] Their proposal includes issuing identification cards, municipal elections for seats in the Central American parliament [as heard], and general elections at the specified date, that is, on ...

[Ferrey, interrupting] Because they base this proposal on...

[Reporter, interrupting] [Words indistinct] Esquipulas II and you insist on dwelling [encimarse] on Esquipulas II and violating Esquipulas...

[Ferrey, interrupting] But the regime that signed Esquipulas is the one violating it. We are not Esquipulas signatories; therefore, we have virtually no commitment with Esquipulas. The one who stamped his signature on it is named Daniel Ortega, who is said to have been elected president of this country. Daniel Ortega is the one responsible for complying with Esquipulas. There is also the mandate of the presidents of 16 January. They even removed the word simultaneity because it was being used to blackmail; if Honduras does not comply with so and so, we will not do so and so; if El Salvador does not comply with so and so, we will not either.

Therefore, the presidents said now everything will be done unilaterally; there will be no excuses, there will be supervision, and everything must take place immediately. Between 16 January and now, a lot of time has gone by. The one who signed that document is the one who continues to violate it. We did not sign it.

Also, even if we followed the Esquipulas spirit to the letter, they would not comply. We want guarantees that there will be full compliance with an electoral process, that the opposition will enjoy equal opportunities. Equality of opportunity means that there should be freedom of speech, movement, and organization to be able to carry out a political campaign; that we would have access to television and radio so we can have effective participation.

They talk about participation but that is only on paper. Workers have no participation here. You might argue that they do. However, workers do not even have the right to strike. There have been very serious problems here.

[Reporter] There are two interpretations of Esquipulas. You say the deadline is 30 May...

[Ferrey, interrupting] You mean Sapoia.

[Reporter] Yes, Sapoia, excuse me. And the government claims it is indefinite. Who will decide? Is there an arbiter? Do the witnesses play the role of arbiters? Who in hell will decide which of the two interpretations is correct?

[Ferrey] Sapoia is very clear in this regard. It states that a cease-fire on offensive military operations will be decreed for a 60-day cease-fire during which negotiations to establish a definite cease-fire should take place. The 60-day period ends on 30 May. If one knows how to count, what they claim is not possible; there are 60 days between the signing date and 30 May. That is what we are talking about.

Knowing that there was going to be a second round of talks, the Managua regime—only to gain publicity—announced a unilateral truce before the first truce is up. Why do they announce it unilaterally if this could have been negotiated? Why did they announce a unilateral truce? To continue violating the rest of the Sapoia agreement. The *modus operandi* did not apply here. People did not enter the zone. This means that prisoners were not released. There has been no respect here for the unrestricted freedom of speech specified in Sapoia. If the government denies this...

[Reporter, interrupting] [Words indistinct] the kidnapped and...

[Ferrey, interrupting] This young man insists on the word kidnapped. First, we have long been claiming they are war prisoners regardless of whether you like it or not...

[Reporter, interrupting] And the 100 turned over to you were also prisoners...

[Ferrey, interrupting] One hundred who did not satisfy the requirements.

[Reporter] But you failed to comply with this aspect. You failed to give as you received.

[Ferrey] That was not specified; we complied with the first delivery of prisoners in Costa Rica although the FSLN did not release anyone when it decreed a general amnesty. We released prisoners in Costa Rica, but the FSLN has continued to hold people to this date.

I was asked who is more obliged to give; I say the government. We are a guerrilla group. The only thing we have to do is turn over our weapons. We will turn over our weapons when there is freedom here. Peace is not achieved only because I stop (?shooting). That is false. There is a truce right now. Are the freedoms we advocate present?

[Reporter] How negotiable is the proposal you presented today? What portions are flexible?

[Ferrey] That depends...

[Reporter, interrupting] [passage indistinct]

[Ferrey] We have not said it is an ultimatum. This does not mean that should we leave tomorrow, because as soon as the government closes itself up—as was apparent today—we would start firing. The FSLN is announcing that beginning 1 June there will be a military offensive to destroy us. They are the ones killing Sapoia.

RN's Sanchez on Talks

PA2705185488 Panama City ACAN in Spanish
1732 GMT 27 May 88

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 27 May (ACAN-EFE)—Today contra leader Aristides Sanchez told ACAN-EFE that the Nicaraguan Resistance will not break the cease-fire on 1 June, but its commandos will defend themselves if Sandinist troops attack them.

"We are not going to sign any other cease-fire agreement as long as the Sandinists fail to comply with points of the Sapoa agreement, such as the full release of political prisoners and steps to lead to Nicaragua's definitive democratization," Sanchez added.

Sanchez is in Managua taking part in a round of talks with representatives of the Sandinist regime and agreed to make statements by phone to an ACAN-EFE delegation in Tegucigalpa.

"We feel the Sandinist proposal to sign a new cease-fire agreement is a trap to win time and not to carry out the changes demanded by the people as the basis for a lasting peace and true democratization," he said.

He noted that the contra commandos are not afraid of the touted "devastating offensive by the Sandinist troops because we are ready to repel it the way we have been doing for the 6 years we have been fighting in Nicaragua's mountains."

The contra leader said it is already clear to the world that the Sandinists "lack the political will to make the reforms the people need to bring an end to the war and to the conditions causing it."

In this regard, he said "the talks being resumed today are going to be very heated because we do see very clearly what steps have to be taken to achieve peace. We abide by the Constitution, of which the Sandinists enforce only the parts that suit them and the rest is only ink on paper."

Sanchez also complained about the confinement to which the RN members are being subjected at the Camino Real Hotel in Managua. He admitted, however, that they have been allowed to make some visits to the opposition.

"I think we should undertake a dialogue among the government, the RN, and the internal opposition to reach an agreement about ending the war and democratizing Nicaragua," Sanchez said in conclusion.

Pedro Chamorro on 'Progress'

PA2805041588 Paris AFP in Spanish 0155 GMT
28 May 88

[Excerpt] Managua, 27 May (AFP)—The Nicaraguan Government has proposed to the contras to extend for 2 more days the cease-fire negotiations, which showed

some "significant progress," despite the fact that they opened in a "difficult and rough" environment, anti-Sandinist leader Pedro Joaquin Chamorro has said here.

The Nicaraguan Resistance (RN) Directorate, headed by Alfredo Cesar and Colonel Enrique Bermudez, military chief of the rebels, announced that because of previously acquired commitments it could not remain in Managua any longer.

However, Chamorro, a member of the Directorate, told AFP that in view of the "significant progress" made in Friday's session, his delegation will depart on Saturday evening instead of afternoon, as had been scheduled.

On Friday the participants in the meeting "agreed on important aspects" regarding the participation of the RN representatives in a national dialogue," Information and Press Minister Manuel Espinoza said. [quotation marks as received]

While reviewing this point, the participants discussed part of the RN proposal, which was presented on Thursday and which included demands for a series of reforms "for the national democratization and reconciliation process."

According to reports, rebel leader Alfredo Cesar said during the discussions that "the text of the proposal does not exactly reflect its spirit," and he added that when the RN proposed holding elections for a constituent assembly, it intended for them to be conducted within the established legal framework.

A source said that even though no agreements were reached on these matters, many ideas were clarified, especially those regarding respect for current institutions, which was a great concern for the Nicaraguan authorities.

Moreover, the "ad hoc" commission created this morning was able to approve three points regarding operational aspects of the enclaves where the rebels were located.

One of the points, which was approved and which had been proposed by the RN, calls for the Sandinist government to provide the civilian population currently living in those areas with the necessary guarantees and services. The other point made the contras responsible for providing the Verification Commission with the information it needs to verify the location of the rebels in the designated areas.

Finally, it was agreed that the Sandinist government will refrain from deploying vehicles and planes to the seven areas [contra enclaves], except under extraordinary circumstances, and that two cooperatives located in those enclaves "will keep" their arms, as they currently have and as the RN had proposed.

The only point that was not approved was the one regarding the creation of mixed commissions—in charge of resolving problems in the enclaves—given that the RN asked that the number of its members be reduced from six to two. [passage omitted]

Bermudez Discusses Talks

PA2805172588 Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish
26 May 88 pp 1, 12

[Text] Colonel Enrique Bermudez, military commander of the Nicaraguan Resistance's forces, has told a Managua radio station that he has never opposed the Sapoa agreement. "There is evidence dating back many years about our willingness to engage in a dialogue with the Sandinists in order to resolve Nicaragua's problems in a civilized way."

On the matter of the RN's internecine conflicts, Bermudez said that "they existed, but we always look for democratic solutions." He said the decision to expel commanders Tono and Fernando from Honduras was made by Honduras, a sovereign country.

Regarding the stand he will have during the current negotiations, Bermudez said: "I am here in good faith and in hopes of finding a solution. I would like to be able to expect the same from the Sandinists, but there is no reason for optimism thus far because we do not see any signs of good faith to comply with the Sapoa agreement."

"As Nicaraguans, we hope to resolve this problem. We have no other choice but to make every possible effort to find a solution to our problems," Bermudez said.

About his political future, Bermudez said: "I am not a politician and I did not come here with political aspirations. I simply answered a patriotic call from my conscience, which told me that I had to cooperate and work so the Nicaraguan people will organize themselves and struggle for their democratic aspirations."

Bermudez said he did not feel very optimistic about the new round of talks because the RN's concept of democracy is different from that of the Sandinists. However, "better results may be obtained if they bring up the problems as they really are."

He said he had not participated in previous meetings because there was a cease-fire commission and "I had more specific responsibilities. Besides, I had not been invited to participate in these meetings. I have been invited this time."

At the end of the interview, Bermudez said he wanted to tell the people that "we are here in good faith to search for peace. We do not want any more bloodshed; we want peace with democracy and will continue struggling until we achieve it."

Government Officials Comment

PA2805014888 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish
2254 GMT 27 May 88

[News conference held by Presidency Minister Manuel Espinoza Enriquez and Dr Augusto Cesar Zamora, director of the Foreign Ministry's Legal Department, with unidentified reporters at Las Mercedes Hotel in Managua—live]

[Text] [Espinoza] We were debating on point 26 [not further identified] of the proposal presented by the Nicaraguan delegation and important clarifications were made. Although the point was not approved, we made progress by making significant clarifications. When we began discussing point 26, we solved a situation that had been presented as one of the obstacles hindering the negotiations, which is presenting arguments that are too rhetorical on topics that are very general and abstract. We discussed point 26 as a specific point, and we made significant clarifications that will later lead to greater progress.

Dr Zamora of the ad hoc commission will explain this. We also made significant progress by approving some points in addition to point 16, which had already been approved during previous rounds of discussion. Dr Zamora will explain.

[Zamora] As you know, during past meetings, particularly in the last meeting held here in Managua, 16 points were approved out of the 32 points that comprise the overall proposal for a definitive cease-fire proposed by the Nicaraguan Government. This morning, it was agreed that the ad hoc commission—which worked during the previous meeting—would resume work analyzing the Nicaraguan proposal, this time based on the pending points and the new modifications proposed by the Nicaraguan Government, which was delivered to the contras during meetings Vice Foreign Minister Victor Hugo Tinoco held in Miami. The ad hoc commission managed to make progress on four points. It approved the following parts of the Nicaraguan proposal during the working session that just ended: paragraph 2 of section 3; section 10; section 14; and section 22.

Unfortunately, a point approved during the previous meeting was left in suspense by the contras, who asked again that it be revised. However, except for this point, the work was positive—as you can tell from the approval of these points—and we even managed to improve the wording on points 16 and 19, which had been approved in the previous meeting. This makes a total of almost 20 points from the Nicaraguan Government's proposal that already have been approved, and we hope to make greater progress in this peace process that seeks to put an end to the war once and for all. That is, in essence, what I wanted to tell you this afternoon about the work done by the ad hoc commission.

[Reporter] Point 16 is the one that presented some doubts, right? That is the one that refers to the mixed commissions?

[Zamora] That is correct. Point 16 refers to the mixed commissions that would work in the cease-fire areas. We had agreed that there would be at the most three delegates representing the constitutional government of Nicaragua and three representing the contras. Now they want to reduce that figure to only one representative. We do not know why. We have explained to them that this is something that corresponds to the needs of each delegation, whether there be three, two, or one; but they insist on one representative for the government and one representative for the contras in these mixed commissions. Thus, this point that had already been approved is still pending.

On the other hand, when the meeting closed today, the head of the Nicaraguan delegation, Army General Humberto Ortega Saavedra, said something about which we had already advised our friends the journalists, and that is about the Nicaraguan delegation's willingness and invitation to extend the period of this round of talks.

We proposed to continue meeting here in Managua, at the El Camino Real Hotel, for 1 or 2 more days, trying to reach conclusions on the Nicaraguan Government's overall proposal.

Also at the end of the meeting, we defined today's program of activities for the contra delegation. They are going to visit LA PRENSA, and they will also be allowed to visit the Democratic Coordinating Board's [CDN] office. In other words, the CDN representatives will not come to the El Camino Real Hotel, and instead the contra delegation will be able to go to the CDN headquarters. This information is for journalists who wish to cover that event. That is all we had to report today.

[Station announcer] Comrade Zamora of the Foreign Ministry will begin a question-and-answer session.

[Zamora] Point 3 in paragraph 2 refers to government vehicles, ships, and airplanes, which will refrain from entering the zones during the suspension of offensive military operations, except in cases agreed upon or under extraordinary circumstances. Still pending a decision is the situation of some peasant cooperatives that remained in the cease-fire areas. The contras wanted those cooperatives to be disarmed and demilitarized. This could not be accepted by the government as a matter of principle. So, the wording of that point was agreed as follows: Within the zone—the cease-fire zone—only the settlements and cooperatives of (Las Parcelas) and (Panalit) will maintain their current status. Their location is specified in the map attached to this agreement.

In other words, those cooperatives—the only ones that exist within the cease-fire zone—will maintain their current status.

Regarding point 10...

[Reporter, interrupting] [Words indistinct] government to cooperatives, how was this clarified or resolved?

[Zamora] Let me explain this. There is a system of mixed commissions, which have representatives from both the government and the contras. Those commissions are in charge of handling problems as they occur in the cease-fire zones. Movement will be allowed. This must be coordinated to prevent actions or situations that could result in incidents that would not benefit the government or the contras. That was the reason for creating this mechanism of mixed commissions, which will be in charge of coordinating the operational aspects in the cease-fire zones.

Point 10 refers to the confirmation by the Verification Commission of the contras' location in the cease-fire zones. This point specifies that the contras must give the Verification Commission all the necessary information so the commission can verify that the contras are indeed located within the zones.

There were problems because the contras wanted to limit the commission's capacity to obtain the necessary information. An agreement was finally reached. We also demanded that the commission take into account certain information, such as the number and identity of the contras located in the cease-fire zones. A draft was finally agreed upon, which states that the Resistance will submit the information requested by the Verification Commission in order to determine the location of the contra forces in the zones.

[Reporter] In my copy of the document, it seems that point 16 does not refer to mixed commissions, and I want to know if the numbers have been changed on the original document.

[Zamora] What I meant was—maybe I made a mistake—is that the wording of point 16 had been improved where it states that the Nicaraguan Resistance's radio communications capability, which ensures its command and the control of its forces within the cease-fire zones and between zones, will not be affected at all. This is where it is stated that radio communications will be free from interference by the Nicaraguan Government. That is the part that was improved. The thing that remains, something that had already been approved but is now in suspense, is point 17.

The next point completely approved is point 14. The new draft submitted by Nicaragua and presented in Miami states: The natural organizations—I am reading it just as it was finally approved—referred to in this agreement will submit to the Nicaraguan Government

and to the Verification Commission, periodically and well ahead of time, the schedule of their air, land, sea, or other travel, how often shipments will be made, and the designation of points of transit and dates of supply deliveries. The Nicaraguan Government will facilitate the free flow of supplies.

[Reporter] This had been left pending?

[Zamora] Yes, and now it has been approved. I am reading what has been approved.

[Reporter] Then more points have been approved besides those 16 that had been approved before?

[Zamora] Yes. To repeat, paragraph 2 of point 3, which was pending, was approved; point 10, which was pending, was approved. Point 14 and point 22 were approved. Three and one-half points altogether.

[Reporter] Are you reviewing the points approved previously? Have those also been questioned?

[Zamora] The agreement is that these 20 points have been approved in principle. It is a gentlemen's agreement, at least on the part of the Nicaraguan Government, that we approve it and that it stays approved. In other words, we cannot be always approving one point and then going back to it to examine it again. One must take into consideration that the approval of each and every one of these points is the product of a long process of time-consuming discussion, and when a point is finally approved, then it must be understood that the discussion on that point is not going to be reopened. Of course, an agreement in principle implies that this could be done. We are speaking about an integral agreement. The Nicaraguan Government has made several concessions on some points with the understanding that the contras are going to make concessions on other points.

[Reporter] Then 19 points have been approved?

[Zamora] Yes.

[Reporter] Would you explain point 22, please?

[Zamora] Point 22 has to do with Nicaraguan citizens living in the cease-fire zones, who will maintain their political, economic, and civic rights. For this purpose, the civilian population in the zones will be granted supplies, freedom of movement, work, and employment, as well as communications and transportation means to guarantee their economic activities.

The life, property, and activities of the civilian population and the state holdings in the zones may not be affected in any way. The Nicaraguan Government will maintain in each zone the services and banking facilities to allow for the normal business and payment of goods and services. This was a proposal drafted by the contras and that we accepted almost completely.

[Reporter] Regarding the 5-day term proposed by the contras yesterday, has this been discussed?

[Zamora] What I have said is that we cannot accept ultimatums. This is a negotiation. It is a lack of seriousness to come here to say that a 5-day period is allocated for doing this or that. The government is truly and totally interested in reaching an agreement, but within the constitutional framework, in accordance with the Esquipulas II peace plan, and with respect for the legal status quo.

We have the will to make concessions, because negotiations means that both sides will yield, but we cannot under any circumstance accept proposals of this sort. They are hardly serious and are unrealistic. If they want these negotiations to have a positive outcome, they will have to view them realistically, not by imposing ultimatums on the government for it to accomplish what the other side wants in a 5-day period. Furthermore, in our opinion, the contra proposal totally violates the Sapoa agreement and, in fact, virtually does away with Sapoa. And we cannot accept this, because the framework of these negotiations is based on the agreements signed in Sapoa. The Nicaraguan Government's overall proposal strictly falls within the Sapoa agreement and totally fulfills it by seeking a permanent cease-fire to end the war. The contra proposal seeks to replace Sapoa and to open a new negotiating process.

[Reporter] If I understood you correctly, you have two ad hoc groups that talked about the Nicaraguan Government's proposal. But what happened today to the contras' proposal? Were there other people who were talking about this, or was it not on the table?

[Zamora] There are not two ad hoc groups. The group that worked in the afternoon is the same group that worked the previous times. It is composed of Vice Foreign Minister Tinoco, Colonel Javier Carrion, Major Wheelock, and myself. It was agreed that the ad hoc commission would discuss points 2 to 25 of the Nicaraguan proposal, but this was not being done. The plenary commission headed by the leaders of the delegations would discuss the remaining points, basically from 26 on. This would be done with the purpose of gaining time and making progress. But the plenary commission is not the ad hoc commission. We, the ad hoc commission, were working on points 2 to 25.

[Reporter] Did you discuss the contra proposal today?

[Zamora] The contra proposal is a part of the negotiating process. Obviously they are entitled to their own views. It is in this sense that they made their proposal, but the basis of our work today was the Nicaraguan Government's proposal.

[Station announcer] We are broadcasting a news conference on today's negotiations.

[Zamora, in progress] ...to establish a new round of negotiations as soon as possible. The contra leadership has said, however, that they will reply to the Nicaraguan Government's proposals tomorrow morning.

[Reporter] Considering the attitude taken by the contra's delegation so far, what are the chances that they will accept the proposals?

[Zamora] Replying to that question would be speculation. I believe the best thing we can do is to wait for tomorrow. Anyway, I assume that today they will be making public statements. They should be asked their position regarding the Nicaraguan proposals.

[Reporter] Are they willing to negotiate?

[Zamora] They said they will reply tomorrow.

[Reporter] To all the proposals?

[Zamora] Yes, to all the proposals.

[Reporter] The contras arrived yesterday with no intention of discussing the government proposal. Now they have agreed on some points. What happened?

[Zamora] Well, to be fair, they did not say they would not discuss our proposal. They did not say they would discuss it, either. We told them it was not serious to come and say: Let us forget everything we have discussed and begin from scratch. So they said they would not ignore the previous work, and they agreed to continue working on the basis of the progress that had been made. That meant that we would continue working based on the Nicaraguan Government's overall proposal, which was the only one on the table until the contras presented their absurd proposal at this meeting.

[Reporter] Why is it that the ad hoc commission made some progress, while it was said here that the plenary commission did not make much progress or only a minimum of progress?

[Zamora] There are always topics that are more difficult than others. Obviously, the ad hoc commission had covered a lot of ground in previous meetings, which made it easier. The plenary commission has to deal with a number of points, however, some of which were discussed in depth for the first time. During the past meeting, we presented our overall proposal, and the contras refused to discuss certain topics that will be discussed for the first time at this meeting. This means we must start off with those new proposals, which is always difficult. On the other hand, those of us who had worked in the ad hoc commission found it easier to reach agreements on matters we had already discussed.

[Reporter] Which would you say is the most important point approved so far?

[Zamora] The most important point is that we have already approved 19 points. There is no point that is more important than the others, as in an agreement all points are important. So what is important is that at this stage 19 points have been approved. If we consider that there are other points that have not been approved pending agreement on one phrase, we could say that 22 points have already been approved, 3 of which are only pending an agreement on the wording. So only 10 points in the Nicaraguan proposal are pending before an agreement is reached.

[Reporter] If the contras agree to extend this round of talks, what are the chances of signing a permanent cease-fire agreement?

[Zamora] The goal of all this is achieving a permanent cease-fire. We therefore cannot talk about chances. We believe a permanent cease-fire to end the war must be signed. If we think this will not be achieved, then we are only wasting time.

[Reporter] I was referring to this round of talks, specifically. Do you think it would be possible?

[Zamora] At this stage I think you should ask the contras.

[Reporter] Although we do not know what the contras will reply to the Nicaraguan proposal for extending the talks, what are the plans for tomorrow?

[Zamora] Tomorrow we expect to receive a reply from the contras on the proposals presented this afternoon by the Nicaraguan delegation. First, this includes an extension of the cease-fire. Second, the proposal includes a special agreement for the delivery of humanitarian aid to the contras, which would be delivered by the Pan-American Development Foundation, a neutral organization. Third, we would have to determine the date for a new round of negotiations. And, of course, there is our proposal to extend the current negotiations for 1 or 2 more days; in other words, through Saturday or Sunday.

[Reporter] Would you say that there is mutual confidence so that once the meeting in Managua with the contras is over, there will be neither misunderstandings nor a denial that agreements were reached during these talks? Do you think that the talks here in Managua will be extended?

[Zamora] There will be no such backtracking on our part. When we approve something, we are serious about it. We cannot speak for the contras, however. I can only tell you our position.

[Reporter] One of the basic points in the contras' proposal is that there should be a division of what is seen as the triple union of Army, party, and state. They say that is characteristic of a Marxist-type dictatorship. Has that

been discussed in the plenary commission? Has there been any in-depth ideological discussion, or do the talks simply involve military aspects?

[Zamora] That is the contras' concept. As far as I know, there is no situation of this sort in Nicaragua. The political Constitution is very clear. If they think such a situation exists, that is their problem. The Nicaraguan Constitution is clear on that.

[Reporter] Has that been discussed or not?

[Zamora] They have mentioned it.

[Reporter] What is the atmosphere of the talks? How would you describe it?

[Zamora] There is an atmosphere of respect in general terms. There is respect, with each participant trying to preserve his dignity. This type of negotiation must definitely be based on personal respect; otherwise, there cannot be any progress.

[Reporter] One last question: Have you seen on the part of the contra delegation a willingness to extend the cease-fire?

[Zamora] They said they will respond tomorrow. We will have to wait until tomorrow for their response. I cannot speculate about their response.

H. Ortega, Others on Talks

*PA2805173288 Managua Domestic Service
in Spanish 1500 GMT 28 May 88*

[Statements by Humberto Ortega, Manuel Espinoza, Paul Reichler, and Victor Hugo Tinoco, government delegation members to the talks with the Nicaraguan Resistance, at the Las Mercedes Hotel in Managua—live]

[Text] [Ortega] Yesterday afternoon we began a process of discussion, of negotiation. Our delegation has described this as important because the ad hoc commission that was appointed has succeeded in making progress on three (?more) points of the overall Nicaraguan Government proposal. At this point, we have practically reached agreement on 19 of the 32 points of the Nicaraguan Government's proposal. Simultaneously, we, the delegation heads and commission members, continue working from Point 26 on of the overall Nicaraguan Government proposal. This is what happened yesterday.

They [the RN delegation] have been using the proposal they brought on this occasion as a working document. Our government has clearly stated that it disagrees with that proposal as a whole, with the overall structure of their proposal. It is not [words indistinct] but tries to supplant, to do away with the Sapoa agreement, and impose new negotiations. We have always expressed our disagreement with

this proposal as such. In our work, we have used some aspects, or specific points, of the proposal they brought. The document is there and has been used by us for input [insumo] in an effort to continue reviewing and moving forward with the basic proposal used in these negotiations, beginning with the last round in Managua, which has been, and continues to be, the overall 32-point proposal of the Nicaraguan Government.

Yesterday, we advanced to point 19 of our proposal. In other words, 19 out of the 32 points have been agreed to. Yesterday, we also discussed Point 26 of the Nicaraguan Government proposal a great deal. It deals with the incorporation of contra representatives into the national dialogue. We also discussed the preamble of the Nicaraguan Government proposal dealing with general principles on the concept of revolutionary democracy, which we have been building and forging in our country since 19 July [1979].

We brought a concrete proposal today on point 26 of the Nicaraguan Government proposal. We must point out that in this negotiation there are internal tendencies in the contra delegation that seek to scuttle, to bring about the collapse of the Sapoa process. [There is] a war-mongering process encouraged by the U.S. Administration with such actions as the arrival in Honduras yesterday of the four Hercules planes with supplies for the counter-revolution.

These sectors, which are clearly represented by the Somozist Colonel Bermudez, (?are) present at these complex negotiations. Despite all of the objective problems in the negotiations, there are obstructionist tendencies that do not want any agreement between the revolutionary government and the contra leadership, with those in the leadership who advocate a negotiated solution.

Despite that complexity, we believe that progress was made yesterday. I will quickly reveal the specific proposal contained in point 26. Comrades Victor Hugo Tinoco, Reichler, and Zamora will stay here to explain it later, because we have to start the meeting.

Point 26 is very important because they have been involved in a campaign claiming that this negotiating process provides no guarantees for various political and democratic issues presented by different political forces in our country.

We know that in our country there is a democratic process, that our government has permanently pointed out that we must strengthen and perfect it. In this regard, we have paid attention to the concerns of all political sectors of the country and even the concerns they have expressed. Point 26 states:

Once the Verification Commission confirms the location of rebel Resistance forces in the area, the representatives of political organizations that make up the Nicaraguan Resistance will join the national dialogue in keeping with point 6 of the Sapoa accords.

Within the national dialogue, the necessary accords will be reached to ensure or perfect the development of:

- A. Political pluralism while respecting ethnic, cultural, and religious values of the Nicaraguan people;
- B. The separation and independence of state branches;
- C. Equality of citizens under the law and full respect of human rights;
- D. Freedom of speech, association, assembly, and movement, as well as freedom of religion and education;
- E. Equality of rights and opportunities under the law for all political parties in Nicaragua;
- F. State institutions and organizations to fully meet national interests;
- G. The right to strike and the freedom of labor unions;
- H. Legal guarantees permitting fair trials;
- I. A pluralist and participative electoral system serving as a basis to hold free and honest elections, including municipal elections and elections for the Central American parliament, the schedule of which will be established at the national dialogue, and for general elections that will take place in 1990. [1-minute break in reception] that with this position specified in Point 26, we will be able to place the trend to negotiate over the trend to make the agreements (?collapse).

We also wish to reaffirm what we said yesterday: We want to spend as many days as necessary—tomorrow, the day after tomorrow—to continue seeking a definitive agreement. Should we not reach a definitive agreement on this occasion, we reaffirm the need to set up another meeting because we have already achieved a lot. Of the 32 points, we have agreed on 19. We are already discussing Point 26. We are practically discussing the entire government proposal.

We say that if they cannot stay today—we do not understand why they cannot—we should set up another date, extend the suspension of offensive operations allowing us to reach a definitive accord, and also seek ways to resolve the problem involving how to supply contra forces in the country's interior through an OAS foundation that we have already approved.

We have put across all these things to them, but up to now they have been stubborn, especially the ones who do not want to negotiate—the most recalcitrant, the most

extreme in holding antinegotiating positions. However, we ratify all these stances and believe that if we do not reach a definitive agreement—which we think we can reach this very day on these bases—if no other type of agreement is reached, then this will mean that Bermudez' position, the warmongering position, will have prevailed over the tendency to negotiate. Sapoa would then be on the verge of being destroyed. We shall always maintain our willingness to continue to negotiate to stop the bloodbath once and for all.

We continue our serious and firm claim for them to free or explain the whereabouts of all those who have been kidnapped, which has been a result of the mercenary war. They now appear as tame pigeons, practically giving the impression that all they have been doing these 8 years is handing out candy and toys to the farmers, our children, and our peasants.

Therefore, we are going to today's round of talks with all our efforts to persuade them that this is the best path, that this point 26 can and should open the possibility of a new final action, without creating an illusion that this final effort can be reached. [sentence as heard] However, we reiterate that we are going with the full belief that this can be attained.

This is all I wish to say. We are going to leave our comrades to reply in depth. [passage indistinct]

[Espinoza] The revolutionary government's delegation is headed by General Humberto Ortega Saavedra and includes Major General Joaquin Cuadra, Brigade Commander Lenin Cerda, Lieutenant Colonel Javier Carrion, [Sandinist Assembly member] Julio Lopez, Dr Victor Hugo Tinoco, Fernando Caldera, [Legislative First Secretary] Rafael Solis, and Dr Zamorra. [passage indistinct]

[Reichler, in English with simultaneous Spanish translation] The government has responded, is responding now, and if you compare the documents that are being distributed now, which Gen Ortega has just read, with paragraph 4 of the contra proposal, you will find that the government has accepted every single point on the contras' list.

The contras threw out a challenge; whether it was sincere or not we will soon find out. The government has not only accepted that challenge, it has gone beyond the contras' proposal regarding democratization. Of the nine points on the contras' list, you will find that six of them are incorporated word for word in the government's proposal that is being presented right now. A seventh, concerning free and fair elections, is very similar; the difference being that in the contra's proposal they call for an electoral process leading to a constituent assembly, presumably to write a new constitution. [Words indistinct] is unacceptable to the government and is also completely outside the framework of Esquipulas and Sapoa. However, in conversations with contra negotiator

Alfredo Cesar, he said that the point about the constituent assembly was simply a throwaway, that it was something the contras were willing to withdraw from their proposal. Therefore, therefore [repeats himself] it was simply in there for the purposes of negotiation and they would not insist on a constituent assembly to rewrite the Constitution. Therefore, on that seventh point as well—of free and fair elections—there is complete harmony and agreement on those points.

You will find that there are two of the points on the contra list; the remaining two—since there is complete agreement on seven of the nine—are two other points where the drafting has been changed. [sentence as heard] The contras talk about in one of their points—I think it is B—that coercive measures with respect to FSLN mass organizations should be stopped. Of course, there are no [words indistinct] as everybody here in Nicaragua knows. That has been redrafted to accommodate whatever theoretical concerns the contras might have, to provide that all political parties in the country would have equal rights and privileges under the law. Another point in the contra proposal that has been redrafted concerns what they call the separation of the party and the state or the separation of the party and the Army. Since the party and the state are in fact different and the party and the Army are in fact separate, obviously the government cannot agree to do what already exists; to make a change when none is required. However, that has been redrafted—I think that is the contras' point 4F—and is now [words indistinct] of the government proposal that says: the state's institutions and organizations will fully meet national interests and is [words indistinct] and that is the way to accommodate their theoretical concerns, which should be acceptable to them.

So I repeat: The government has responded positively to every single point on the contras' list of demands for inclusion in the national dialogue (?that will lead) to the further democratization in Nicaragua.

There is no motive [words indistinct] for the contras to continue making statements and demands with respect to political matters. The government (?has met) every one of them and has indeed gone beyond them because [words indistinct] the government added a point that is not even on the contras' list. [Words indistinct] and which concerns guarantees and rules for the assurance of the exercise of the rights of private property in Nicaragua.

It now warrants that the contras agree. At least they should agree, and they have no pretext for not agreeing to a reintegration, a full reintegration, of their forces into Nicaraguan society during the month [words indistinct] as is included in paragraph 27 [words indistinct].

I read in THE NEW YORK TIMES today that they know, (?and they always tell) the whole story accurately, that Alfredo Cesar says, (?and this is an accurate quote), that all the Sandinists have to do is give us a few more guarantees [words indistinct] where we left off yesterday

afternoon, that we could sign something important on Saturday. We shall see. We have not, the government of Nicaragua has not only offered a few more guarantees, but has (?offered) full guarantees on every single point of the contras' proposal with respect to the [words indistinct]. We shall see if they are prepared to sign a cease-fire agreement today. If they are, we can all celebrate. If they are not, then we will know who is to blame.

[Tinoco] I wish to comment briefly on what Commander Ortega said a few minutes ago. In the first place, the Nicaraguan Government has offered the counterrevolution to continue this effort [words indistinct] to continue this negotiating effort to see whether it is possible to reach a final cease-fire agreement in this round of talks. We believe that the contras cannot have anything more important to do than possibly work for peace if they are really interested in peace.

They cannot have anything more interesting or important to do in Miami, San Jose, or Tegucigalpa than to try to reach a definitive cease-fire agreement. This is the first proposal. The Nicaraguan Government is prepared to continue working this afternoon, tomorrow, Monday, but before the 60-day deadline expires for the cessation of offensive operations.

Second, the Nicaraguan Government is offering to reach a bilateral agreement; that is, a mutual agreement to extend the cease-fire. The Nicaraguan Government has already announced that it will unilaterally implement and respect a cease-fire. The guarantee for peace is for the contras to agree to extend the cease-fire. We are therefore making a proposal to make this a bilateral, mutual agreement. This way we will know whether the contras are interested in a cease-fire or whether, after the internal division in contra ranks, the views of the Reagan administration and Bermudez have prevailed over those of the politicians.

Third, we are proposing that both sides agree that the Pan-American Development Foundation or the organizations and companies hired by the Pan-American Development Foundation immediately begin to distribute humanitarian aid to the counterrevolutionary forces inside Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan Government's position on this is clear. We are reaffirming our acceptance of the Pan-American Development Foundation and offering that this be a bilateral agreement.

Finally, we are reaffirming today to the counterrevolution the importance of their contributing to a climate of peace and understanding by releasing the kidnapped Nicaraguans they hold. This is important and would undoubtedly help bring peace to the many Nicaraguans who have kidnapped relatives and do not know what has become of them. This would help the atmosphere of the talks.

Today we will learn what the counterrevolution's true stand is: whether they really want peace, or a return to the situation of confrontation that we have experienced for many years, to the war started by the United States that continued up to the Sapoa agreements.

I repeat, the Nicaraguan Government is making specific offers for a cease-fire, for an end to hostilities, and for approving the use of the Pan-American Foundation. As you all know, the government has also made, as Paul extensively explained in English and as Gen Ortega also explained, a very specific proposal on the subject of democratization, covering practically all the points they made in their proposals, as [words indistinct] Ortega explained 2 days ago. Since there are no more questions, that will be all.

RN: Proposal 'Incomplete'

PA2805234688 Buenos Aires REUTER in Spanish
2252 GMT 28 May 88

[Excerpt] Managua, 28 May (REUTER)—Today the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries described the new proposal presented by the Nicaraguan Government to end 7 years of war as limited and incomplete. This statement is a sign of a stalemate in the talks that ended here today.

The Nicaraguan Government today asked the rebels to participate in talks that would guarantee the implementation of the democratic changes demanded by the contras as a condition to lay down their weapons.

Contra spokesman Bosco Matamoros told the press that the "offer is limited and incomplete." He did say, however, that the rebel delegation considered the offer constructive. Matamoros said if the talks end without important agreements, the contras will not be the first to break the temporary cease-fire, which expires on 31 May. The Nicaraguan Government unilaterally extended the truce for another month.

Matamoros said "what worries us the most (about the government's plan) is that it does not establish deadlines for keeping the promises. It is one thing to promise changes, but implementing them is another matter."

Earlier, contra military commander Enrique Bermudez reiterated his demands for the Sandinists to implement the changes in the next 60 days and to take other important steps, such as releasing all political prisoners no later than 31 May. [passage omitted]

H. Ortega Reviews Talks

PA2905015888 Managua Domestic Service
in Spanish 2350 GMT 28 May 88

[News conference held by Defense Minister Humberto Ortega, head of the government delegation at the talks with the Nicaraguan Resistance, with unidentified reporters at the Las Mercedes Hotel in Managua—live]

[Text] [Ortega] We held a brief news conference this morning and gave you a short report on how the talks, which ended today, were going. We said this morning

that the government delegation had decided to expand Point 26 of the overall proposal presented by the Nicaraguan Government for the implementation of a permanent cease-fire.

As you know, during the previous round of talks here in Managua, we presented the Nicaraguan Government's overall proposal. This proposal allows a practical implementation of the Sapoa agreement. Since the last meeting we have been basing our talks on this proposal. At that meeting, we basically agreed on 16 points of that proposal. At this 3-day meeting, we continued to study the overall proposal presented by the Nicaraguan Government and basically agreed on 19 of the 32 points included in our overall proposal. We likewise discussed Point 26, but not with the enthusiasm we expected from the other side, since these are topics of interest to the contra leadership. This point, as you know, has been amended. You have copies of the amended version of our overall proposal.

The counterrevolution and the U.S. Administration have accused the Nicaraguan Government of being anti-democratic, dictatorial, and totalitarian. Today, when we have presented an amended version of point 26 of the overall proposal—the amended version aims to strengthen the democratic and constitutional process in Nicaragua—the contra leadership did not show any interest in an in-depth discussion of this point. Enrique Bermudez was not in the least interested in the discussion. He did not say a single word about this matter. He remained virtually silent throughout today's meeting. This proves what we had mentioned earlier. The problem lies in the fact that the mercenary leadership—and this meeting has demonstrated this—is controlled by Bermudez; the warmongering faction led by Bermudez controls the organization. When the Sapoa agreement was signed, Bermudez opposed it. When we continued to develop the Sapoa agreement, Bermudez looked for ways to sabotage it. His last resort was to travel to Managua to prevent the contra leadership from signing a definite agreement with the Nicaraguan Government.

The United States, the U.S. Government, sent Bermudez to Managua not to negotiate, but to prevent the leadership, the rest of the contra chiefs who are members of the contra leadership, from reaching an agreement. We are trying to reach an agreement on the development of Point 26 of our overall proposal. That proposal permits the ratification of the Nicaraguan democratic process we have been promoting. That proposal would permit reaching a definitive agreement. They sent Bermudez to prevent people who could reach that agreement from signing it. That is what has really happened here.

Recapping, we could say the RN leadership's position was to reject everything. This is not just a rejection of a permanent cease-fire agreement but a rejection of everything. So much so, that not even in the final moments of the meeting were the contras willing to jointly sign a very

brief communique stating that we agreed to meet again on the 7th, 8th, and 9th [month not given] in Managua. They did not even agree to that.

I clearly told Bermudez: Whose permission do you need to ask? You cannot even mention the dates for a new meeting or the extension of the cease-fire in a communique. You have agreed to that here. Why are you, who lead the armed counterrevolutionaries, unable to make that decision and to do so in writing?

[Words indistinct] they were not able to draft that communique. I believe that even when they appeared before you, they had that statement or commitment in writing. On this occasion, the warmongering sector—Bermudez' sector—truly prevailed. The hesitant members of the RN leadership were unable to override Bermudez by signing the agreement on a permanent cease-fire.

What can happen from now until the next meeting? That remains to be seen. We do not rule out that Bermudez will not return to the talks. We came close to witnessing the collapse or breakdown of that mercenary leadership due to all the differences in its ranks. In this respect, then, what are we doing meeting with this leadership when, in practice, the position of the U.S. Government and Bermudez have prevailed? In fact, their position became stronger on 27 May with the arrival in Tegucigalpa of the four C-130 Hercules airplanes carrying aid for the contras in Honduras. Their position is also strengthened by the remarks by U.S. Government officials saying the aid will continue to be sent until September or October. Bermudez therefore does not want to sign anything. He does not even want to sign this communique saying that we will continue to meet. He came to prevent those who wanted to sign from signing.

We are a government responsible for the Nicaraguan people, as we represent the feelings of our entire nation and people: the feelings of our youths, workers, and peasants. And so, we decided to continue every effort, despite those differences within the counterrevolution, to persuade them that the path called for in this situation is a permanent cease-fire agreement. They therefore should not [as heard] sign that agreement.

They no longer have an argument. Point 26 is a response to that argument. The contents of Point 26 cancel the pretext contrived by our enemies to refuse to ratify the democratic nature of the Nicaraguan process.

Then the contras, as you already know, refused to sign the proposal we submitted to confirm the Sapoa agreement, the Verification Commission, and the 30-day cease-fire extension. They rejected the proposal to have the OAS Pan-American Development Foundation distribute the humanitarian aid, and they did not want to agree to the International Red Cross going to the contra camps to verify that there are no kidnapped people there. The reason is that they now want to look like harmless

doves and Reagan's messengers of democracy, and so they deny they have ever kidnapped or ever held thousands of Nicaraguan citizens hostage.

We proposed to let the International Red Cross verify the charges made by our people and our government concerning the thousands of kidnapped and missing people. And now it turns out that they only account for 66 people they are allegedly going to release in Guatemala.

That is the situation. We feel no effort should be spared to persuade the contra leadership to override Bermudez' control. While this happens, we will maintain our positions. We have clearly stated, before witnesses, that as far as the Nicaraguan Government is concerned, Sapoa has not died. Although the 60-day deadline for a suspension of offensive operations has practically expired, that does not mean Sapoa will die. What we ought to have done in this case is to have given ourselves some more time to continue the Sapoa agreement, which is about 80-percent complete. But this is exactly what the U.S. Administration does not want to happen.

At the same time it must be pointed out that Alfredo Cesar lied when he told you why they did not stay longer in Managua. We told them: If they were so interested in peace, we did not understand what could be more important than peace. We asked: Why do you have to go to Miami or to Honduras, unless you, Colonel Bermudez, are more concerned about grabbing all that aid that is arriving in Honduras to distribute among your contras. How is it possible that these gentlemen who are so concerned about peace cannot stay 1 or 2 days extra to finish discussing the 32 points, of which 19 have been basically agreed upon. In fact, we had started discussing point 26, which would have been followed by point 27, which concerns the problem of an amnesty so a timetable for disarmament can be established. And that is precisely why they did not want to stay: Because after point 26, the next point to be discussed would be 27, which is the schedule to have the contra forces lay down their arms to the Verification Commission from 1 to 30 September.

It is obvious that Bermudez and the U.S. Administration do not want us to reach that point. As it turned out, now all of a sudden they did not want to discuss or had no time to discuss Point 26, which was formerly their greatest concern because of the democratic and political problems. We do not understand how it is possible that this leadership, made up of peace-loving, democratic, concerned people, can have other, more important matters to attend to than this vital issue for our people. What can be more important than reaching an agreement so we do not continue to lose time holding meetings such as this? The people are waiting for solutions instead of the evasions given by the vacillating contra leaders.

If certain contra leaders had stood up to Bermudez today, they would have surely forced him to sign a permanent cease-fire agreement, and we would have had virtually a definite peace agreement in Nicaragua today.

They were hesitant cowards, however. They basically subordinated their actions to the Somozist National Guard again; they are subordinated to the Yankee colonel, meaning that person, Enrique Bermudez. I told him so directly during the meeting. We will try to get the recordings to show our people how we handle this type of person with dignity and courage. They did not come to achieve peace; they only came to instill fear into the cowardly contra leaders, who could not assert themselves even though this was a magnificent occasion.

Alfredo Cesar, the liar, said they could not stay any longer because Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo had to leave for Canada. We want to clearly state that this was a great lie, because the cardinal said he had to leave at noon—the flight was later delayed—but that there was no problem because he was leaving a representative. The other witness, Mr Joao Baena Soares, said he could stay as long as necessary. This man [Alfredo Cesar] is a liar. I believe he has also said he could not stay because he had a meeting abroad—I do not know with whom.

Their hesitant attitude and excuses cause concern, but, despite this complex, difficult situation, we are a responsible government. We will continue to make efforts so these people definitely decide to achieve peace. The witnesses, Mr Joao Baena Soares and Cardinal Obando y Bravo, summarized the round of talks today and said that, despite the existing problems, the process that began with Sapoa has made progress. Cardinal Obando y Bravo, himself, said the problems in the meetings before Sapoa—meaning the meetings held in the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, and Costa Rica—were bigger and more difficult given the lack of communication and distant possibilities of beginning negotiations. In other words, the two witnesses clearly said progress has been achieved.

We are therefore concerned because the U.S. Administration sent Bermudez, the guardsman, to disrupt the progress made so far. This is how we see the situation in general terms, and we tell our people to trust their revolutionary government, as they always have. We will remain firm in the negotiations because we defend a just cause. Those who obey Bermudez have acted irresponsibly, because they have resumed their actions against our forces and the people. We will remain watchful and repel any attack while we maintain a unilateral cease-fire for 30 days. That is the situation.

Do you want to add anything? No? Then we can answer some questions.

[Reporter] Commander, have the witnesses to the Sapoa agreement, Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo and OAS Secretary General Joao Baena Soares, become members of the Sapoa Verification Commission? If they are members of the Verification Commission, would it not be their responsibility to issue a report stating that the

counterrevolution is not abiding by the agreement? Also, what have you heard about a phone call or message from the U.S. State Department asking the contra leadership to fly to Costa Rica?

[Ortega] I am not very familiar with the role Baena and Obando y Bravo will play within the Verification Commission. Now that 60 days have passed since the signing of the Sapoa agreement and now that the Sapoa agreement has been accepted—even though another meeting will be held on 7, 8, and 9 June—they will probably start thinking about issuing a report on the results of the Sapoa agreements to date. As members of the Verification Commission, they will state their opinion in that report.

Regarding your question about the phone call: We just left the meeting. We did hear something about that during their news conference. The U.S. Government sent Bermudez, so it is quite logical that it should recall him. When they saw that they had no more excuses to avoid a more in-depth discussion of the topics on the table and that they had run out of excuses to refuse discussing the issue of laying down their weapons, they were called back in a hurry. That is surely what has happened.

[Reporter] Commander, now that you are aware of the contras' position on your proposal, do you still think they will reach a permanent cease-fire with the Nicaraguan Government? What happens if they come back to the 7 June meeting without honest intentions of reaching a permanent cease-fire, especially now that Bermudez' ideas prevail? What alternatives do you have?

[Ortega] I wish to make it clear that we have not accepted the proposal presented by the contras, the mercenaries. We did not accept their proposal because it is a proposal aimed at replacing the Sapoa agreement. Our overall proposal does not replace Sapoa. Our proposal complements the Sapoa agreement. It is an overall proposal to help implement the permanent cease-fire. Their proposal does not complement Sapoa, however; it is a replacement for the Sapoa agreement.

Their proposal includes issues already agreed upon in Sapoa. Their proposal includes issues such as the amnesty. We agreed in Sapoa on how the amnesty would be handled. Now they say they want us to implement a general amnesty and give us 5 days to implement it. We clearly told them we cannot accept their proposal. They probably think that they can come here with Hitler's "Mein Kampf" or with any other document and that we have to accept it. We have analyzed several of the points presented in their document, but we cannot accept it. And this is what caused the problem. They have to understand that we are here to discuss the Nicaraguan Government's proposal.

[Reporter] I had heard that Alfredo Cesar and the RN leadership had reached an agreement with the U.S. Democrats to sign a permanent cease-fire agreement. What have you heard about this? Could it be that the Democrats heard that the contras did not sign an agreement, and for this reason they were called to Costa Rica?

[Ortega] I could not say. I will have to wait and see.

Regarding your question, if they come back with the same warmongering attitude, with Bermudez' warmongering attitude, and if the other members of their leadership continue to hesitate, then there will be a real rift within the leadership. If this happens, then we will have to find other ways to fight them and continue defeating them, as our people have been doing.

[Reporter] General, in the past few weeks there have been many signs that the Reagan administration will ask for more aid for the contras, even military aid. What impact would this have on the peace process? What would happen if the U.S. Congress approves this request by the administration?

[Ortega] If the contras refuse to discuss even those important issues that they have brought up, if they reject the possibility of reaching the tiniest of agreements, then they will isolate themselves. We know it is not easy for the U.S. Congress to approve that aid in a relatively short time. We are not negotiating because we are afraid that the U.S. Congress will approve more aid to the contras. We have always said that they have an interventionist and imperialist attitude, that their attitude is against our people, our nation, and the Latin American peoples. The U.S. Congress has no reason to meddle in Nicaragua's domestic affairs, much less finance a mercenary war like the one they have been financing. That war has caused thousands of casualties and much destruction in our homeland. If the U.S. Congress resumes aid to the contras after the contras have been politically isolated and after it has been proven that their reasoning is unfair, then the U.S. Congress would only be proving that it is irresponsible.

The problem is not weapons for the contras. They can give the contras as many weapons as they want, but the contras have already been defeated. We are simply trying to take a shortcut to annihilate them completely and avoid further bloodshed. They lost the war. They had entered the strategic and irreversible process of defeat even before the Sapoa agreement was signed.

If the U.S. Congress resumes that illegal, irresponsible, and imperialist aid, then all they will be doing is investing in a company that has already gone bankrupt, a company that has failed to win a war and failed to remain united during this temporary cease-fire. Sapoa has served to prove that their problems have gotten worse and that some important contra leaders have

changed their position and are now supporting a peaceful resolution of the conflict. They have joined civilian life in Nicaragua and accepted the amnesty. This is what has happened.

At war or at peace, the contras have not been capable of maintaining a firm position. If that aid is resumed—we do not want them to do this—they will be investing in a business that has gone bankrupt.

[Reporter] Commander Ortega, I have three questions I would like to ask. For some time now you and other Nicaraguan Government officials have said the contras have been defeated. Observers have said there is no chance that the United States will resume aid to the contras. You also said Bermudez had come here to prevent the signing of a permanent cease-fire. If all this is true, what is Bermudez counting on? What kind of game is he playing? If the war is lost and if he cannot get more aid, then what is he counting on?

[Ortega] Let me answer that first question, because if you keep this up I may forget something. [laughter]

Bermudez is counting on the wrong political move. He is counting on the failure of the Sapoa agreement and on the Nicaraguan Government being blamed for this failure. He thinks that if this happens, the U.S. Congress will resume its aid to the contras, thus stepping up the war in Nicaragua. He feels that if this happens, he would have another chance to continue the war against Nicaragua. As far as he is concerned, he has not lost the war. He cannot get that through his head. That is the way he operates, that is his *modus vivendi*.

[Reporter] You said the contra leadership could crumble. What do you mean? What do you foresee?

[Ortega] Just look at what has happened since the Sapoa agreement was signed. Of the 11 members who signed the Sapoa agreement, only 3 attended this meeting: Cesar, Sanchez, and [name indistinct]. Calero, the chief negotiator, has been left behind. To come to this meeting, they practically formed an alliance to keep themselves from losing everything that was at stake at this meeting.

If they were not hesitant, they could have contributed to peace by forcing Bermudez to sign the permanent cease-fire agreement and to realize once and for all that the war has no future. Because they did not do that, this situation will become more difficult for them in the next few days. Surely Bermudez will not want to come to the next talks. It is possible that a number of differences may emerge. The differences may even lead to the extreme of violence. This has happened in some instances because of the differences in their leadership.

For that reason, we do not rule out that their leadership may collapse. There is going to be a meeting. We learned that the exact date for it had been fixed. Surely, they are

going to want to reelect the RN Directorate and place in it people who are more loyal or more like Bermudez' robots. They do not want to have the hesitations experienced by some RN Directorate members.

[Reporter] General, as the chief negotiator, you accepted the proposal by the OAS secretary general that the Pan-American Development Foundation provide the humanitarian aid to the contras. On what basis did you accept that? In other words, what information do you have regarding the logistical and organizational capability of that organization to handle that task?

[Ortega] We think that if Baena Joao Soares, who is a responsible person, has suggested this alternative, it is because he feels certain he can handle that duty.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] from Costa Rica. I would like to ask you something: There has been a great deal of talk about the contras and their annihilation. What did you commit yourself to? The RN has said there must be a division of the Army-party-state system. If that does not happen, there will not be an agreement. Have you made a commitment in this regard? What other commitment have you made?

[Ortega] We have a Constitution here in Nicaragua. Costa Rica also has a constitution. If the Costa Rican opposition does not like a lot of the things President Oscar Arias does, that does not mean that the opposition has the right to engage in terrorism or guerrilla warfare. If there is an opposition... [changes thought] We know that there are problems about land and strikes and all sorts of economic problems in Costa Rica. There are parties whose policies are even opposed to the system there. But the opposition would have to win the elections, implement their government plan, and make all the amendments they want within the legal and constitutional framework. Your country's opposition does not have the right to demand that they take up arms because they do not like something. Terrorism is harshly punished there.

In this case, the things the contras have been proposing in this regard stem from their total ignorance of this country's legal and constitutional framework. We have said: It is you who think that there is no democratic, popular, and revolutionary process. You do not want that. If you do want to join that process, however, you must do so by starting with the recognition of the constitutional framework. Esquipulas II mandates that.

Esquipulas II states that the negotiations must be reached with irregular forces within the framework of each country's constitution. Under our Constitution, those concerns that the right-wing Nicaraguan Democratic Coordinating Board has made a big fuss about... [changes thought] At a meeting, the CDN hailed the

Somozist leader, that freedom fighter, that gringo, that U.S. infantryman, Col Bermudez. The CDN hailed him and did everything but give him a blow job, as the vulgar expression goes. [laughter]

Those CDN gentlemen do not appreciate the pluralist, political, and democratic process we are forging. That process is contained in the Nicaraguan Constitution. The issue of the party-state system is pure propaganda. In the Army's case, we have a military institution. It has been gradually becoming more professional. It has been gradually and clearly defining its role with regard to the Constitution and to its foremost duty of defending the fatherland's sovereignty.

It seems those gentlemen do not want our country to have an army that would defend the fatherland with pride and dignity when it is attacked by a foreign power. That is another sort of problem. Yet, as far as that problem is concerned, we reiterate that if one studies the Constitution, one will find the problem is resolved there. In practice, our revolutionary state has been gradually getting stronger, developing, and improving despite the war and the aggression. This better allows us to study the constitutional framework under which we are mandated to guide the country's institutions.

[Reporter] What is the possibility of raising the level... [changes thought] of holding negotiations at the government level between Managua and Washington if no progress is achieved at the RN-Defense Ministry level?

[Ortega] No, I am not participating in the negotiations as defense minister. I represent the constitutional government of Nicaragua. Is that clear?

Regarding your question, our position is well known. We advocate a civilized, timely dialogue with the U.S. Government to resolve the situation. The U.S. Government was and continues to be responsible for this situation. You were right in this regard. If we cannot hold serious negotiations as equals with this contra leadership, this warmongering, hesitant leadership, we would have to talk with the circus owner, not with the animals. One does not talk with the clowns. One talks with the circus owner, not with the animals like Bermudez.

[Question indistinct]

[Ortega] They never keep their promises [words indistinct]. Reagan said he would hold a meeting just as the contra leadership did, but they do not keep their promises either. Is that all?

[Reporter] The contra leaders said they came to Managua to save the Sapoa agreements, yet they left without completing their mission [words indistinct]. When they said goodbye to the Sandinist delegation, was there any promise to maintain the same position in other meetings, meaning the 7-9 June round of talks?

[Ortega] Who? Do you mean them or us?

[Reporter] Them. When they left, did they imply their positions would change?

[Ortega] No, they said that they could not stay and that we would have to continue on 7 June. Anyway, let us not lose faith. Perhaps they will soon regain their wisdom and seriousness and give up their warmongering position so we can reach a permanent cease-fire.

D. Ortega on Contra Talks, 'Struggle for Peace'
PA3005202588 Managua Domestic Service
in Spanish 1903 GMT 30 May 88

[Message by President Daniel Ortega Saavedra on the occasion of Mother's Day from Government House in Managua—live]

[Text] With much warmth, happiness, and love, we dedicate this day to all mothers. The truth is that every day is dedicated to mothers. The Nicaraguan Government and the FSLN National Directorate have been struggling year after year since the triumph of the revolution to give our mothers something they deserve, something for which they have always struggled: peace.

Prior to the triumph of the revolution in Nicaragua the chance for peace did not exist. That chance came after the revolution triumphed in Nicaragua. We seek peace so that mothers can be with their families, with their children, and help them with their education and their work. We seek peace so that mothers can carry out many activities without living with the fear, pressure, and suffering of a family member, a child, a friend, a brother, or a comrade, getting killed, of a mother getting killed. We seek peace so that there will be no suffering in our country, in our homeland.

When a Nicaraguan dies, when a Nicaraguan falls victim of the aggression that our country is experiencing, when a Nicaraguan is murdered, kidnapped, or tortured, that feeling of solidarity within us is stirred and we all suffer with him; with him we also repudiate those criminal actions that turn the Nicaraguan people into victims despite their age—a newly born child, a woman, a young man or woman, or an old woman.

Therefore, the Nicaraguan people's most important task at this moment is to struggle for peace. It is the Nicaraguan Government's and the FSLN National Directorate's responsibility to give all the Nicaraguan people, especially the Nicaraguan mother, peace. And we are struggling to achieve this peace even though it is being denied our people by the United States of North America. They deny our people, our mothers, this peace. If there were no war or aggression we would not be talking about this. On this Mother's Day we would be talking about other things. We would probably be talking about

the things the mothers would be doing to promote constructive and cultural activities. However, we are forced to discuss war because we are experiencing a war.

A cease-fire operation has been agreed upon, but this agreement has been systematically violated by the counterrevolutionary forces, and there is a long list of people who have been kidnapped and murdered.

On this very special day on which we honor the Nicaraguan mother we must remember and honor those mothers who have been victims of attacks, victims of the aggression; mothers who have been murdered as the result of the policy of terror promoted by the U.S. Administration today as well as in the past. Many mothers were murdered in the past when Somoza was in power. Somoza was supported by U.S. policy. Many mothers have been murdered throughout these years by the mercenaries who are supported and financed by the U.S. Government. Those mercenaries are a U.S. Government creation.

Therefore, on behalf of those mothers, in memory of those mothers who gave their lives in defense of the peace and happiness the Nicaraguan people have a right to, we must also dedicate our work, our daily efforts.

Also, the mothers whose children are mobilized are and should always be present in our actions every day. Mothers whose relatives—sons, brothers—have fallen in action should also be present in our daily actions, as those actions are aimed at obtaining better conditions for Nicaraguans in every aspect, better living conditions.

This struggle for peace is most important, because if we achieve peace, we will be in a better position to improve the situation of all Nicaraguans. As long as there is peace and aggression, we must try to preserve the lives of Nicaraguans. That is what war does and what it takes away from the Nicaraguan society: Nicaraguan lives. Therefore, we will continue our efforts to achieve peace.

Peace can only be understood with dignity. Even the term peace with dignity is redundant. However, we must repeat ourselves in order to stress that there is only one kind of peace: the peace of free men. There cannot be peace in men who are slaves. Some may say that in the past, for many years under Somoza, there was no struggle here, there was no FSLN fighting against Somoza, and, therefore, there was peace in Nicaragua. There was peace because there was no war, there was no military confrontation. However, there was no peace. In any event, what existed was something known as the peace of slaves, because people were subjugated, oppressed. People did not even have the right to talk or protest. The Nicaraguan people could not organize themselves. We buried, rejected that kind of peace on 19 July 1979, and since then we have been struggling for real peace.

There is only one real peace: the peace of free men, of free women, of free people. However, the United States wants to impose on us the peace of slaves, and we are fighting against that.

During the past few days we have again held talks with representatives of the U.S. Government, with the contras. Apparently, some of them are willing to accept a peaceful solution, because they have realized they have been defeated militarily. Logically, no one would propose a peaceful solution unless he has been defeated militarily. So these people have had to sit down and talk; they have had to try to find a peaceful solution or to try to give the impression that they are seeking a peaceful solution, because they are being defeated by the Nicaraguan people, because they have been defeated by the Nicaraguan people, by the heroism of the Nicaraguan fighters and the Nicaraguan mothers.

This time, during the latest meeting, we told them that in honor of Nicaraguan mothers—today, 30 May, the deadline for the suspension of offensive actions would expire as agreed in the previous meeting with the contras—we would announce an extension of the deadline for suspending offensive actions for 30 more days. Although they are not complying with the agreement to suspend offensive actions 100 percent, they are complying to a large extent, and this contributes toward preventing even more Nicaraguans from dying every day, because Nicaraguans have continued to die during these days of war.

Therefore, we made our proposal as an homage to Nicaraguan mothers. We said to them: Coincidentally, 30 May—Mother's Day in Nicaragua—is the day when the deadline for the suspension of offensive actions will expire.

Therefore, in homage to those mothers, the ones who suffer most... [changes thought] We have to admit that in Nicaragua the ones who suffer most from this war are the mothers. Those peasant mothers who are in the war zone, the combat zone, and in the cooperatives are suffering every day; so are the mothers who are here in the cities—in Managua, Leon, Chinandega, Masaya, or any other city—who have sons who have been mobilized. Those mothers are suffering every day. Then there are those whose sons have been kidnapped—that is even more painful than having a son who died, because it involves the anxiety of not knowing if he is dead or alive. It is something truly terrible not to know for sure what has happened to one's son.

Therefore, in that meeting with the contras, Humberto, as the Nicaraguan Government's chief negotiator, proposed to the contras that we agree on an extension of the cease-fire for an additional 30 days—in tribute to Nicaraguan mothers—to give ourselves time to continue working and discussing to see if we could arrive at a definitive, total cease-fire. Their reply was a refusal. They did not accept that proposal.

Finally, with only a few minutes to go before the meeting ended on Saturday afternoon, it was agreed that in the next few days, until the next meeting is held, a de facto halt in offensive operations would be observed. In other words, they have agreed to a de facto halt for a few days. We have declared it unilaterally for another 30 days. In other words, there is a very clear difference when compared to the position of the Nicaraguan Government, which has unilaterally declared a halt in offensive operations for an additional 30 days. That is, beginning today, we have been announcing and reaffirming this decision, which will go into effect on 1 June and last until 1 July. It is a halt in offensive operations from 1 June until 1 July, decreed unilaterally by the Nicaraguan Government. The contras have rejected this proposal. They agreed to maintain a de facto cease-fire for a few days, until the end of this week, through the first days of June. A new meeting is planned for that time.

Therefore, in the last few minutes of the meeting, Humberto asked a question of Bermudez, the former Somozist guardsman who seems to be dominating the situation there and imposing his will on the talks, and who is the representative of the Americans. He is the one the United States trusts, this former Somozist guardsman, Bermudez. Humberto asked Bermudez: Why do we not approve this extension of the cease-fire for an additional 30 days? Why can we not reach a minimal agreement, in which we concur that the Sapoa agreement remains in force, as does the Verification Commission, composed of the OAS secretary general and Cardinal Obando y Bravo? Why do we not agree to a 30-day extension of the cease-fire? Humberto asked him: Or do you have to ask permission to sign? And that individual did not answer. He remained quiet; he did not answer; and the witnesses were there. The fact is that he is an instrument of U.S. policy, and it is quite clear that the U.S. Government was not interested in an agreement being reached at this moment when they are in Moscow meeting and discussing global matters and where they are also discussing these regional problems. The U.S. Government was not really interested in an agreement being reached in Managua, and this is precisely why they sent guardsman Bermudez to hinder the possibilities of a definitive peace agreement.

The important thing, what must be clear on this Mother's Day, today, 30 May, here in Nicaragua, is the position of the Nicaraguan Government, the FSLN, and the FSLN National Directorate, which is working seriously for peace. We have been working seriously for peace. Our proposals have been serious, emphatic proposals. We have acted with great flexibility. In fact, today we are ratifying, in homage to the Nicaraguan mothers, the extension of this cease-fire for an additional 30 days, even though the contras reject it.

It is clear that wherever the contras attack, they will be repelled by the people, but we have urged, and continue to urge that they accept this extension of the cease-fire,

which spares the Nicaraguan people bloodshed and victims and is the best tribute that we can pay the Nicaraguan mothers.

We are committed to this struggle, a struggle in which the mother has a dominant, primary role. During Somozist times, when the mothers participated in the struggle and protested against the Somozist dictatorship, they did so with the hope that the situation would end, that they would achieve peace, happiness, and tranquillity, and that they would be able to celebrate Mother's Day in a normal situation. This has not been possible. It has not been the government's fault that this has not have been possible. It has not been the revolution's fault. It is the U.S. Government's and its mercenaries' fault that we are in this struggle, in this battle in which all Nicaraguans, all of us have greater determination, greater strength, and greater spirit to struggle when we see the heroic example of the Nicaraguan mothers. Long live the Nicaraguan mothers! [crowd shouts: "Viva"]

Panama

Noriega on Opposition, Talks With U.S.

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in Spanish 1912 GMT 27 May 88

[Speech by General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander in chief of the Panama Defense Forces (FDP), at the closing session of the congress of the Women's Single Front Against Aggression (FUMCA) at the Atlapa Convention Center in Panama City—live]

[Text] Sisters and brothers: While we are here—70 percent of us being peaceful women—meeting with patriotic songs, at this same time, the U.S. Embassy, in the person of Carl Wayne Henderson, is surrounding the Atlapa Palace [as heard] with walkie-talkies, because it is afraid of the women. [applause, rhythmic clapping, crowd shouts: "Not a step backward"]

Carl Wayne Henderson, a U.S. Embassy diplomat. How long, [U.S. Ambassador] Arthur Davis? How long, John Maisto [U.S. Embassy deputy chief of mission]? How long will you abuse our patience? You are abusing the patience, the right to walk on the streets of Panama. Be careful, Arthur Davis. [applause, slogans]

Brothers, sisters of Latin America: from Chile, Isabel Barraza and Frida Modak; [applause] from Cuba, Berta Menendez; [applause] from the U.S. America Workshop [Taller de las Americas de los Estados Unidos], Esmeralda Brown; [applause] from the Dominican Republic, Luz del Alba Terring; [applause] from Venezuela, Marisol Arcia; [applause] Ana Hinestroza de Tejada; Listela de Sanchez; Jacquelin Rodriguez; America de Johnson; Luzmila Jansen; Luzmila Sanchez; Eneida Lawson; Dalys de Ortega; Eva de Awed; Mireya Bird.

At the outset, because there is a meeting of the positive and negative aspects of the human being here, the dialogue and the closure of the women's meeting, we have to recognize the members of the dialogue in the first stage, which lasted 8 weeks: the National Action Party; [applause] the People's Party; [applause] the Revolutionary Party of the Workers; [applause] the Democratic Workers Party; [applause] the Liberal Party; [applause] the Labor Party; [applause] the Revolutionary Panamenist Party; [applause] the Republican Party; [applause] the organizations and sectors represented by the executive; the Popular Unity Front; the Ecumenical Committee; the Indian sector; the town councils opened in Navarro's presence; [applause] the student sector; [applause] the women's sector; [applause] the micro and small enterprise sector and the people's government; the Technological University; and the Democratic Revolutionary Party. [applause, slogans]

Today, a historic day, together with our brother President Manuel Solis Palma, [applause] a classy president... [laughter] [changes thought] and I hope we can hold a plebiscite to allow him to stay as president during the 1989-94 transition period. [applause]

That is a democratic formula: our democracy. In honor, memory, and respect for our mothers, sisters, and wives, I want this ceremony to have historic, lasting value and a great sense of patriotism. In the year 2000, when other books are printed, I want to see other students read the pages of the fatherland's history. I want those who will become leaders, who will be the future commanders, presidents, and ministers, to learn that the value of a woman was above many things. [applause] Today, I want to honor a woman: Come here, Donna [Prescott].

This woman was humiliated at our consulate in New York, but she had enough courage to hang on until the Yankee police vulgarly ejected her from the consulate. This is a woman who reflects the human values of the Panamanian people.

[Prescott] With the commander's permission, I will say that I lived a touching and historic moment yesterday when I received a warm greeting in this room. I am very proud to be a Panamanian woman. I was forced to leave the Panamanian General Consulate on 9 March by a group of people who are not Panamanian citizens. They are not our citizens, because they tried to neutralize me and get me to agree to a plan that today has created hunger, closed our children's schools, and caused virtually irreparable damage to our country. I should not take all the credit, because there were two other colleagues in the United States—Alba Torrijos, consul general in San Francisco, [applause] and Alejandra Sarmiento, who spent 5 days in the Panamanian Embassy without food [applause]—who defended our fatherland's dignity and integrity.

I wish to publicly say that as a Panamanian woman, I will continue to defend my country wherever I might be tomorrow. I join all Panamanian women in protesting the intervention in my country's affairs. Thank you very much.

[Noriega] This testimony shows that women can resist, that women stand for their word, [applause] and that against any bad examples of men who yielded, we will find the examples of Alba Torrijos, Alejandra in Washington, and Donna in New York. [applause]

Gentlemen, the dialogue did not involve only one side; it was a genuine dialogue. Courageous, forceful conclusions were drawn. I ask you in what other country can a worker talk before the president and the so-called dictators of the Panama Defense Forces as [labor leader Hector] Aleman spoke. [applause]

I want to know whether [People's Party leaders] Bermudez and Souza could have sat next to the FDP and the president in 1952, 1955, 1956, 1960, 1967, when the Liberal government of Marcos Robles was in power. [applause]

There was a witch-hunt going on in the name of democracy; they were scared of other ideologies and political beliefs. They had turned the National Guard into a praetorian guard that was repressive, anticommunist, and anti-everything.

These men, many of them students or politicians—they were not public employees because they did not even have the right to be public employees—were exiled or sent to Coiba Island [penal colony], as was [late student leader Floyd] Britton. FENASEP [National Federation of Associations of Public Employees] must therefore be aware that they have made progress; trade unionists must know that they have gained benefits; and the popular forces must know that they have moved forward. Experience was gained by those who were persecuted, such as [People's Party 1984 presidential candidate Julio] Bermudez, the Souza brothers [People's Party leaders Ruben Dario and Cleto Manuel Souza], and many others whose names I cannot recall right now. [applause] I recall that the intelligence report made by the U.S. Embassy when they had an office in the National Guard stated: Bermudez, residence unknown, but search for him in Chilibre [neighborhood in outskirts of Panama City]. [laughter]

This process may have made a million mistakes; it may not have achieved the expectations for liberation that you have or that are contained in the [People's Unity Front] dialogue's conclusions. But the process does have a great victory and a great trophy: the myth of ideologies is over; we do not fear anyone. [applause] We do not fear liberals, communists, or anarchists. Whoever has the ability to conquer minds should do so publicly. Whoever wants to talk and search for solutions should do so as [Authentic Panamenist Party leader Oscar] Navarro,

[National Action Party, PAN, President Camilo] Saavedra, representatives of the PST [Workers Socialist Party], or minority parties' representatives have done: up front. [applause]

That is our democracy. We do not want to hear of U.S. democracy, in which a majority of the people's vote is not necessary for presidents to win elections. We are not looking for presidents or elections. We are looking for the people's welfare, we are looking for the right to self-determination, we are looking for sovereignty, and we are looking to be left in peace. [applause]

We are not interested in Bush, we are not interested in Dukakis, we are not interested in the Republican Party, and we are not interested in the Democratic Party. Let them resolve the problem of their blacks, drug traffickers, drug addicts, and all their human miseries. [applause] Leave Panama in peace, gentlemen. For God's sake, leave it in peace, leave it in peace. [repeats himself] [applause, slogans]

We are a peaceful country, open to all types of dialogue or talks, but as the Mexicans say: Do not threaten me. We consider the presence of the president and ministers of state at the dialogue and the FDP's presence—in the form of Colonel Ow Young—to be the FDP's recognition of the dialogue's importance and an example to be followed. Col Young spent 8 weeks keeping to the timetable demanded by the dialogue. [applause] Do not think he listened to flowery, glowing praise. He heard difficult things, too, from both the left and the right! [applause] He heard hard things from us, too. [laughs]

We believe that to seal the words of the president and our commitment to the document we signed today at the end of this dialogue, it is necessary for the current ministers to know that they are not ministers of any party. They are ministers of hunger, they are ministers of misery, and they are ministers of the needs! [applause] They are ministers of the national emergency. We will demand—I will ask this as no one will demand responsibility from me—responsibility from them. There are no political parties against hunger here. There are no political parties against misery here. There are no political parties against needs here. We have solutions here, and the solutions have a single word: solutions.

I commit myself to this word—solutions—and to use no other word. There have to be solutions. I do not want to return to San Miguelito and have the crowds chant for improvements and other things. I no longer want to hear that. [applause]

It is important that the ministers and the entire government, all of us, realize that it is a maneuver to fire personnel from private businesses. It is a maneuver, because firing those people is an action against the Panamanian Government. During the times of sedition,

they asked their employees to take care of their businesses, paying them extra. Now they fire them. But now they fire them in one more destabilization move so they will join the ranks of the unemployed.

Now then, gentlemen, we must very seriously look into this problem. We must be very serious about this problem. There is the problem of those who are being fired so they will become the enemies of the Panamanian state and so they will join those needing assistance from the state, but in the name of what? They blame the state for a maneuver they tried, and now they want the state to pay for this. They want the Panamanian people to pay for this. [indistinct remark by someone in the audience] No, the minister just arrived. [laughter]

We must have a realistic idea of this problem, and it is not the name of the minister that counts. It is the enforcement of a plan and the assignment of responsibilities. We must look into everything that has been requested. We must find means for solutions.

The members of the Legislative Assembly—where we went yesterday—cannot be like stone statues looking at the dramatic Panamanian situation. [applause] It is incomprehensible that there is a draft bill on small businesses there, and the legislators have still not done anything about it. [applause] It is incomprehensible that the same small businesses that provided food and basic needs are now being deprived of their priority resources, which are given to the businesses that actually carried out the economic aggression against Panama. [applause, cheers]

We want, along with everything that... [changes thought] There are some things that can be done immediately, while other things need more analysis, and other things are fantasy and cannot be done. We want to say to the members of the dialogue that they should understand the state's capacity for achievement, what the state can do. We cannot be demagogic or act with demagoguery. There are some things that have to be done in other ways.

However, we must commit the legislators and the Panamanian state, in the name of its ministers or autonomous organizations, or representatives, to providing options for a solution. We cannot be subject to what the United States will or will not do. The solution must be Panamanian.

I remember that from the start, on the first night we met at the presidential palace, the popular groups proposed the issuance of money for normal circulation and of a series of checks. Yet the technocracy, in the name of technocracy, argued—and we were fooled for 8 weeks by it—said this could not be done. And it turns out that this was the solution. When the popular forces gathered there until dawn and continued to suggest that, the technocrats said that it was not possible.

Therefore, let us come down to earth. Let us come down to the necessities, to the reality, without excesses, without being demagogues, but we will come down to earth. We will do this knowing, as I have said, that we have to act without the demands of political parties, without fighting about some minor post of governor, or mayor, or councilman, [applause] or one little post or another, which distracts one from the major solutions. Let every man in his position have a single mission: to emerge from the crisis, to emerge from the crisis, [repeats himself] to overcome the crisis for the good of all Panamanians. [applause]

The ministers who have been chosen have come with strength and enthusiasm. I trust in the professionalism, validity, and moral integrity of all who are in those positions. I trust in them. They have a different mentality. They have had different experiences, and I know that with them, we are going to resolve the problems.

I tell you also something that I said before in a speech in San Miguelito. Very often the minister... [changes thought] You say that you want the minister to come out into the field, to leave his air-conditioned office, but when he leaves his air-conditioned office to come down to the infrastructure, they make him a fall guy. They give him a contract, or they sign a labor-management agreement, and then they blame [Labor Minister] Martans, but Martans is not to blame. Therefore, the infrastructure that they have found there must be expurgated. [applause]

As Panamanians, all committed to a solution, we have to help the president of the Republic. We have to help the ministers, and we have to provide plenty of reasons for the ministers to feel strong and committed. We must not demoralize them or accuse them of things that they have not done, or of things that they have not yet been able to do.

This dialogue has been the expression of a real democracy. Unfortunately, many opposition parties did not participate in this dialogue. I am a Panamanian citizen and a member of an organization that wants peace. If we did not want peace, we would have shot a lot of people in this country. [applause] There is not a single political prisoner in the country. Those who burned tires and destroyed traffic lights, the streets of Panama City, and private property are walking free. They walk free because of the Panamanian people's great ability to forgive and to want peace. No one can be arrested in this country, because he will immediately come up with 10,000 godfathers demanding his release.

The G-2 has just informed me that Carl Wayne Henderson is staying in Room 206 at the Marriott Hotel. [slogans]

As I was saying, we have no political prisoners here. We do not have violence or revenge. Just like St Francis of Assisi, we also have the great ability to know that only in

forgiving can we find forgiveness, and only by loving will we be loved. These are the Panamanian people, born from the most blessed womb in America, the womb of the Panamanian woman. [applause]

As an FDP member, as a friend and colleague of the president, I wish to ask the opposition political parties to approach the Electoral Tribunal. We will have elections, and let there be no doubt about that. [applause]

To Dr Arnulfo Arias' Authentic Panamenist Party, we ask you to sit down and discuss the upcoming elections. Endara, Nicosia, Navarro, and other leaders, get involved in the democratic game. You have gone abroad crying and saying you are not being allowed to participate in the democratic game.

The Christian Democratic Party [crowd boos] is a party with different ideas—how unfortunate that men like Arellano Lennox are wasted in that party—a party that believes in going to an imperialist country to surrender Panamanian soil. What a difference when compared to Vinicio Cerezo's Christian Democratic Party and the Venezuelan Christian Democratic Party. Those two parties have dignity, courage, prestige, and leaders. To all parties we say: Participate in the elections if you want a democracy; become involved if you want a democracy. Do not go crying to the United States. [slogans]

We also feel, and I do not know if this has been included in the dialogue's conclusions, that the Electoral Tribunal must give the minority parties a better chance to participate in the upcoming elections. The minorities must be represented. That is democracy; the minority groups represented by their parties are our form of democracy.

I know Yolanda Pulice [de Rodriguez, Electoral Tribunal member] is listening, as well as [legislator Miguel Angel] Picard Ami. The political representatives who will work on the reforms will take into consideration such parties as the PST, Cabildo Abierto [Open Forum], the PRT [Revolutionary Party of the Workers], the PDT [Democratic Party of the Workers], and the PAN and will give them an opportunity to participate as minority parties in the elections and in free democratic expression. [applause]

We feel that is the way to resolve our problems. That is the way to ensure a clean fight and to prevent the fighter who is in the ring from being helped by the referee. By the same token, that is the way to ensure that the towel being thrown to the other parties to wipe off the shame they carry with them is a useful towel to alleviate the misery they have caused in this country. [applause]

Today, as this event began, we saw some children who had made little paper peace doves and who sang patriotic songs. Those are the children who will remember this and will make them pay in the year 2000 for the shame, the humiliation, the offense, the aggression that the

United States, Elliott Abrams' establishment, has committed against Panama. Those children will never forget this aggression. And Gabriel Lewis Galindo will not be there. The liars, cowards, and weaklings who are over there under the stars and stripes will not be there in the year 2000.

Those children will point their finger accusingly and recall the trauma they suffered in 1987. [applause] Our officers, who will be here in the year 2000, are already aware of who the aggressors are. The Dignity Battalion, 60 percent of whose members are women, [applause] will occupy one page in the book of history that will open so that on 31 December 1999, at 1200 noon, the last, the last [repeats himself] foreign uniform will leave our country. [applause, slogans] We wish to add that we are speaking as Panamanians, and I know that Panamanians and Latin Americans are able to interpret what we say. I want to ask foreign newsmen to report correctly on Panama, not to disinform, to correctly report on Panama. [slogans, rhythmic clapping]

We Panamanians talk that way. We are... [laughs, changes thought] When we speak, we do not speak with rage, we do not speak with ire; we speak with emotion, and we shout because we live alongside two oceans, and since the Atlantic and the Pacific make so much noise, we have to shout to be heard. [applause] Therefore, do not feel that General Noriega is angry; that is not so. I never get angry. I have not become angry at the gringos. Why should I be angry? Panamanians are like that; they have a very special characteristic—and this explanation is for the journalists so they will understand the parameters. Panamanians have very special characteristics—you know that Panama borders with Costa Rica, but there are very few similarities between Panamanians and Costa Ricans.

There are similarities between Panamanians and Venezuelans, however. We even have the same way of speaking and a similar accent. There are also similarities between Panamanians and Cubans and between Panamanians and Dominicans. There is something odd about the geography of nations [laughter] that makes us be the way we are.

If a Panamanian goes to Cartagena [Colombia], he feels he is in any Panamanian city or in any place in Panama. I believe this has to do with the migration of peoples. We have the same characteristics, Maria Carter said. We are hot, happy; [laughter] we have a good sense of humor; we are a colorful people who love leisure time and rest. That is why... [changes thought] But we also have the traits of Corsi's poetry, as when he said Chimbombo was a black man who avenged his race when he killed a gringo. [applause] This was a capsule—as Justines says—of Panama's domestic life.

We have arrived at a great moment in history. These Latin American women leaders have had a great life of suffering and struggle on a road that has often led them

into exile and persecution, but they have always had a sense of patriotism and an urge to improve themselves. They have always upheld their gender's right to fight for life, which is precisely what they do. In the presence of these distinguished Latin American women leaders; in the presence of these workers who have finished a dialogue promoted by themselves; and in the presence of the brave and honest people, I can say that no one can tell Camilo Saavedra and Navarro that they are not honest politicians, because history has proven that they are honest, courageous politicians who have fought against true dictatorships. Navarro's brother was shot to death when the National Guard was in the hands of repression. We want those brave politicians who sat down to the dialogue and those who are absent, but who are an ideological, political minority that we ask be recognized, to unite in a different scenario. Again I would like to ask journalists to help us. We hope the U.S. newspaper editors for whom you work will allow you to report on what you have seen here today.

This is not a staged event; no one is tied down here. [applause] This is a spontaneous, Panamanian event. It is hard to explain to them that lies do not last long. I said yesterday at the Assembly that the problem with the talks—we had said there were no negotiations to cover up so they could continue—was that they were playing ping pong. They were talking on one hand, but the U.S. Embassy knew everything and leaked it to the establishment [preceding word in English], and what they have done is dismantle and destroy Kozak's political future. Kozak, who is a totally honest and respectful official, could not overcome the establishment [preceding word in English] from which he comes, and that very establishment [preceding word in English] devoured him.

Over there in the Soviet Union, where Mr Reagan is listening... [changes though] The ones responsible for this failure are Arthur Davis and Elliott Abrams. [slogans] Therefore, gentlemen, we want you to explain this phenomenon. Tell me who is this dictator who has no weapons. [applause]

Amid this serious situation and before you, Panamanian and Latin American women, I hold the U.S. establishment [preceding word in English] responsible for the life of Manuel Antonio Noriega. [applause] I also tell you that they may kill one man, but they will never kill the Panamanian people's struggle for freedom, sovereignty, and dignity. They will never, never, never do that! [applause]

I hold the establishment [preceding word in English] responsible for the life of this child of God. [Crowd shouts: "Noriega, our friend, the people are with you"] In his professional life, this commander, this commander [repeats himself] has received all a military man could long for. I thank God, I thank God, [repeats himself] because I received all that. I thank God, because I have professionally put into practice the plan I was taught at the military school in Peru. I fulfilled my

commitment to my alma mater. I do not want any personal benefits in this life. I want freedom, sovereignty, and self-determination for Panama. I want Panama's freedom. I want foreign forces to leave this country. I love Panama and will do anything for it, for Panama. [applause]

Delvalle: U.S. Talks With Noriega 'Mistake'
PA2705233288 Buenos Aires REUTER in Spanish
2215 GMT 27 May 88

[Excerpts] Panama, 27 May (REUTER)—Today deposed Panamanian President Eric Delvalle said that the United States had made a mistake when it negotiated individually with General Manuel Noriega. He urged Latin American democracies to help oust the Panamanian strongman.

Delvalle added: "I told them (the United States) from the beginning that it was a mistake to negotiate with Noriega because the opposition and I were not participating."

During a news conference held in his hiding place, Delvalle told foreign newsmen that "I told them I believed the way (the matter) was handled had not been correct. We told President Reagan's government as much." Journalists were allowed to participate on the condition that they not reveal where the conference took place or how it had been organized. [passage omitted]

Asked what the next step would be, Delvalle, who was adamant about not resigning, said the leaders of Latin American democracies could play a crucial role. He said "many Latin American countries have offered to act as mediators, and I think that is possible."

Delvalle confirmed reports that Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo, together with a U.S. private group called the Center for Democracy, had launched a new diplomatic offensive, but he refused to elaborate on the subject.

Even though Delvalle has been in hiding almost 3 months and has virtually no political support in Panama, he insisted he would continue to struggle for Noriega's overthrow and affirmed: "He must go, and he will go." [passage omitted]

Delvalle harshly criticized Noriega's performance at the National Assembly session yesterday, which opposition legislators did not attend. "It was a circus, and Noriega was the biggest clown. This was all a ruse to draw attention from the real issue, which is the Panamanian people's suffering."

Delvalle added that even though he did not discount the possibility of eventually issuing a call for a military action against Noriega, he would first "exhaust all peaceful means."

He added that Washington is contemplating additional economic measures against Panama, but he said he could not specify what they are. He insisted that the economic crisis would eventually force the Panamanians to go out and demonstrate against Noriega. [passage omitted]

Ritter Says PNG of U.S. Envoy 'Possibility'

PA2705180688 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1749 GMT
27 May 88

[Text] Panama City, 27 May (DPA)—Panamanian Foreign Minister Jorge Ritter has said that "the possibility of declaring U.S. Ambassador Arthur Davis and his adviser John Maisto as *personae non grata*, as well as filing a suit at the International Court of Justice [ICJ] against the U.S. Administration because of the damage it has done to Panama's economy, are valid and open options."

Davis and Maisto were accused by General Manuel Antonio Noriega yesterday at the Panamanian Legislative Assembly of initiating the destabilization process in Panama.

The Panamanian foreign minister, who will travel to Havana, Cuba today to participate in the nonaligned countries' meeting, added that "relations with the United States are practically nonexistent, but the declaration of U.S. diplomats as *personae non grata* must be carried out under the presumption that it will achieve the desired effects for Panama."

Regarding Panama's lodging a complaint at the ICJ, Ritter said that Panama is evaluating the damage the United States has inflicted on the economy before making a final decision.

Clandestine Radio Reappears, Condemns Noriega

PA3105023788 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 0015 GMT
31 May 88

[Text] Panama City, 30 May (DPA)—Radio Constitucional, a Panamanian clandestine radio station, has reinitiated its broadcasts in the capital after being off the air for 21 days [as received]. It strongly attacked General Manuel Antonio Noriega's presentation at the Legislative Assembly last Thursday.

"This is Radio Constitucional broadcasting in FM from Panama, the city of Noriega's 700,000 hostages," the radio station announcer said today at noon. He also announced there would be four 15-minute daily broadcasts.

In the broadcasts, the announcer called on the people to resist General Noriega's repression and to fight for their rights and democracy. He also blamed the Panama Defense Forces for the crisis suffered by the country.

While these transmissions were being aired, Government and Justice Minister Rodolfo Chiari de Leon said officials were investigating the origin of such transmissions, and he refused to give further details, because the case is almost ready to be solved, he said.

U.S. Army Blamed for Bomb Explosion, 2 Dead

PA2905150888 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE
PANAMA
in Spanish 29 May 88 p A-1

[Text] Two persons were killed and one was seriously injured as a result of the explosion of a bomb left by the U.S. Army in Cerro Silvestre, Arraijan District. The dead are Anibal Villarreal Estrada, a 14-year-old Panamanian student, and Domingo Julio Avila, a 24-year-old Panamanian, who died on the way to the hospital. Alex Amores Estrada, a 20-year-old Panamanian, was critically wounded and is struggling for his life.

A spokesman for the residents of the Arraijan District called this newspaper last night to blame the U.S. Army for this tragedy as a result of the constant shooting practice that takes place in the Nuevo Emperador training field.

Up to very late last night, our reporters tried to contact the Panamanian Foreign Ministry to no avail.

However, we were able to contact by telephone the Panama Defense Forces general headquarters, where we were told about this sad event that took place in the Arraijan community, which has lost two young lives and is on the verge of losing another.

Colombia

Barco Orders All Out Effort To Rescue Gomez

PA2905195688 Bogota Inravisión Television Cadena 2
in Spanish 1800 GMT 29 May 88

[Excerpts] Alvaro Gomez Hurtado, former presidential candidate of the Conservative Party [PC], was kidnapped today in Bogota. The political leader and director of the daily newspaper EL SIGLO was attending mass and was kidnapped by four hooded men as he left the church.

According to initial reports, Gomez' bodyguards exchanged shots with the kidnappers. One of the bodyguards was killed. The country was immediately shocked by this new event in the violence and terrorism plaguing the country. Here is report by Oscar Galviz:

[Begin Galviz recording] At 1050 this morning, former PC presidential candidate Alvaro Gomez Hurtado was kidnapped while leaving the Chico Church in northern Bogota in the company of former Finance Minister Alfonso Palacio Rivas and his wife. Upon arriving at this place on Carrera 11 and 78th Street, four men traveling in a Renault-18 abducted the conservative candidate. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Here is another last minute report by Oscar Galviz from elsewhere in Bogota.

[Begin Galviz recording] This is the car in which Gomez was kidnapped today in Bogota. His captors blew it up after the kidnapping on Carrera 23 and 76th Street [as heard] in northern Bogota. A police officer commented on the event. Colonel, what happened to the vehicle?

[Unidentified police colonel] The vehicle was abandoned by a person at approximately 1115 and it blew up after this person left it.

[Galviz] Colonel, has it been determined if the vehicle was stolen? Do you have any report on this?

[Police colonel] Well, this matter is being handled by the state security corps.

[Galviz] Intensive military operations are now being conducted in Bogota. [end recording]

The bodyguard killed during Gomez' kidnapping has been identified. His name is Juan de Dios Hidalgo.

In statements to RCN [Radio Cadena Nacional], President Virgilio Barco has just reported by telephone from Lisbon that he is keeping in constant contact with Government Minister Cesar Gaviria, minister in charge of the Presidency [ministro delegatario]. President Barco said that he has issued precise instructions to try to rescue Gomez in sound health. [passage omitted]

Gomez 'Critically Wounded'

PA2905220288 Paris AFP in Spanish 2138 GMT 29 May 88

[Text] Bogota, 29 May (AFP)—Sixty-seven-year-old Alvaro Gomez Hurtado, the former Conservative Party presidential candidate who was kidnapped today in Bogota by four men who also killed his bodyguard, is critically wounded, according to a communique delivered by his family to the news media at 2110 GMT.

The kidnappers, who seized Gomez Hurtado at approximately 1645 GMT, minutes after attending mass at a church in northern Bogota, sent his wife, Margarita Escobar, a tape recording. The recording's contents have not been revealed but apparently confirm Gomez was wounded.

A communique read by his daughter, Maria Mercedes Gomez de McAllister, states: "We issue an appeal to the kidnappers that they let him get medical treatment, because the recording indicates that Alvaro Gomez is critically wounded. Our family has asked the authorities to cooperate." The communique adds that Alvaro Gomez' family "begs the kidnappers to heed the appeal out of love for their homeland."

Independent Reports Banned

PA2905213888 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2042 GMT
29 May 88

[Excerpt] Bogota, 29 May (EFE)—The Colombian Government has prohibited radio stations from broadcasting their own reports on today's kidnapping of former presidential candidate Alvaro Gomez and asked them to broadcast only news confirmed by bulletins released hourly by the Presidency.

A telegram sent by Labor Minister Diego Yunes, who is in charge of the Communications Ministry, warned that there are laws in effect that include "drastic sanctions"—including the cancellation of frequencies—for radio stations that use their newscasts to increase the tension created by a violation of public order.

Since the kidnapping in northern Bogota was reported shortly before noon (1700 GMT), Colombia's principal radio networks carried special uninterrupted broadcasts on this story, including interviews with witnesses and statements by politicians.

Once the government's warning was issued, the networks suspended their special newscasts and returned to normal programming, most of them airing today's soccer games.

The minister's telegram told radio station directors that the "delicate situation" in Colombia at this moment "demands total cooperation" from the media. [passage omitted]

'Extraditables' Claim Kidnapping

PA3105133088 Paris AFP in Spanish 1227 GMT 31 May 88

[Text] Bogota, 31 May (AFP)—The "Extraditables Command" of the Colombian drug trafficking mafias today claimed credit for the bloody kidnapping of Alvaro Gomez Hurtado, former candidate of the opposition Conservative Party, 69, on Sunday in this capital.

A man who telephoned the private radio station Todelar of Bogota at 1119 GMT said: "He is alive, but wounded." He said that Gomez Hurtado was shot twice, in his right arm and right foot.

"It is nothing serious; he will recover," the man said on behalf of The Extraditables.

He explained that his group is going to propose to Liberal President Virgilio Barco that Gomez Hurtado be released in exchange for the release of all persons in prison on drug charges, especially those who are faced with extradition to the United States.

"Let them be set free. We also request the release of our friend, Carlos Lehder, because we do not accept the life imprisonment sentence," the man said.

Lehder, 38, was convicted in a court in Jacksonville, Florida, United States some days ago for introducing 3,000 tons of drugs into the United States.

[Bogota Emisoras Caracol Network in Spanish at 1220 GMT on 31 May gives a similar report with no further details.]

Barco Begins 3-Day Official Visit to Portugal

PA2805044888 Bogota Inravisión Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0000 GMT 28 May 88

[Text] President Virgilio Barco, accompanied by his wife, Carolina de Barco, and a small retinue today began an official 3-day visit to Portugal. The president was received at the Lisbon airport by his Portuguese counterpart, Mario Soares.

The Barco administration's foreign policy is open to developing countries with the purpose of strengthening ties of cooperation—particularly scientific and technological cooperation—in order to overcome current economic and social differences.

President Barco then went to Los Jeronimos Monastery, a beautiful 16th-century building, and there was granted military honors and was escorted by the Portuguese

president's honor guard. He later went to Belen Palace to begin talks to strengthen bilateral economic, commercial, technological, and cultural relations.

Ends Official Visit

PA2905203988 Bogota Inravisión Television Cadena 2 in Spanish 1800 GMT 29 May 88

[Excerpt] President Barco ended his official visit to Portugal and is presently resting in that country until tomorrow, when he will leave for Spain. On Wednesday, Barco will continue his trip and will travel to Italy to meet with Pope John Paul II.

President Barco has signed three agreements with Portugal; two were electric power and scientific and technical cooperation agreements, and a third agreement was for tourism exchange. [passage omitted]

Agreement Reportedly Reached on Embassy Occupation

PA2705150288 Paris AFP in Spanish 1356 GMT 27 May 88

[Text] Bogota, 27 May (AFP)—The authorities reported that following an agreement in principle, 55 youths that took over the Mexican Embassy in Bogota yesterday will vacate the premises at noon today. This morning there was total calm at the diplomatic mission.

Colombian Deputy Attorney General Omar Henry Velasco disclosed to AFP that during negotiations conducted last night, there was progress on the demands of the youths who are inside the embassy and that a communique will be issued shortly.

According to Velasco, the government agreed to allow the peasants' marches to take place in different areas of the country and to continue the investigations of missing people.

The embassy intruders decided to drop their demand that the state-run National University of Colombia be demilitarized. The university has been the target of student unrest during the last few days and is under strict security.

Velasco explained that the youths had been convinced of the importance of university police and military patrols to ward off terrorists who disrupt public order.

Velasco said a communique will be issued at noon after negotiations restart at 1400 GMT.

Police reported total calm at the embassy, with food being delivered at 1100 GMT.

Occupants Leave

FL2805014588 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish
0102 GMT 28 May 88

[Text] Mexico City, 27 May (NOTIMEX)—After a long dialogue with Colombian Government representatives, the group that occupied the Mexican Embassy in Colombia on Thursday, left the diplomatic mission this afternoon.

A short Foreign Secretariat communique reported that embassy activities were back to normal.

DAS Agents Arrest Judge Who Released Ochoa
PA2805043988 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1612 GMT
27 May 88

[Excerpt] Bogota, 27 May (EFE)—A customs judge who released Jorge Luis Ochoa Vasquez, described as the "No 2" drug chief of the Medellin Cartel, was arrested last night in Cartagena by order of the Supreme Court of Justice.

It was announced in Bogota today that Judge Fabio Pastrana Hoyos was arrested by agents of the Administrative Department of Security (DAS, the secret police). The judge has to answer to a charge of breach of trust for having released Ochoa while under orders to keep him in custody. [passage omitted]